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THE HISTORY

OF THE

WILLIAMITE AND JACOBITE WARS IN IRELAND,

FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THE CAPTURE OF ATHLONE.

BY THE LATE

ROBERT CANE, ESQ., M.D.,

WITH

CONTINUATION TO THE DEATH OF JAMES II.

BY

MAURICE LENIHAN, Esq., J.P., M.R.I.A.,

MAYOR OF LIMERICK.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS OF THE CELEBRATED STATESMEN AND GENERALS OF THE TIME, AND MAPS AND PLANS OF THE TOWNS AND BATTLES.

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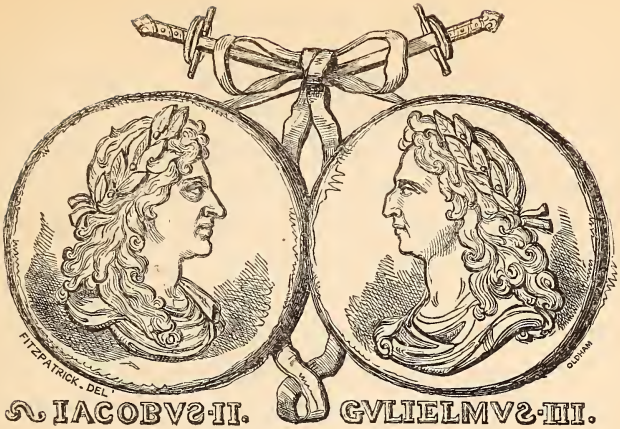
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THE

WILLIAMITE AND JACOBITE WARS.

To understand the history of the struggle made by divided Ireland in the wars of William and James; to comprehend why it was that one portion of the country sided with the foreign Protestant invader, and another with the Catholic legitimist; or to appreciate what interest Ireland could have had in the battling for power between a Dutch usurper and an English tyrant; one must look back beyond the period, and outside the locality of these contentions.

It must be borne in mind, that, at the period of the Revolution, Ireland was inhabited by two races,* be-

* "It might seem, therefore, that the Irish Roman Catholic was in a situation which his English and Scotch brethren in the faith might well envy. In fact, however, his condition was more pitiable and irritating than theirs, for though not persecuted as a

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tween whom blood and religion had built up broad barriers; barriers which confiscation, evil deeds, and evil laws had made almost insurmountable, while the very memories of past struggles and bygone wrongs cemented more strongly the wall which severed the inhabitants of a common country.*

Before the Revolution of 1688, Ireland was nearly a subdued, if not a conquered, country. Its citadels, its arms, its trade, its broad and fertile lands, were in the hands of English and Scotch settlers: the descendants of Cromwell's soldiers and the proteges of the first James—men professing the religion of the Reformation, and possessed of the wealth of the country. They made England's Irish garrison, and ruled over the natives—the Celtic Catholics—who still lingered on the soil, almost wild in the wilds, and but civilized where they held their heads and septs together, and, in defiance of English law, sheltered their persecuted priesthood; or where they inhabited towns and villages, in despite of the oppressive surveillance of those masters, who forbade alike the teacher and the school, the priest and the monastery; and denied corporate rights, civic freedom, or military position to every Catholic Irishman.

The two races hated each other; each believed as thoroughly in the doomed spiritual destruction of the other, as he did in his own right to keep the lands he had won, or to repossess the lands he had lost. It was a virtual struggle for religion, property, and

Roman Catholic, he was oppressed as an Irishman. In his country the same line of demarcation which separated religions, separated races."—*T. B. Macaulay's England,* vol. ii. p. 128.

* "The contest here is not about religion, but between English and Irish, and that is the truth."—*Clarendon,* i. 559.

liberty—those who possessed, that they might preserve; those who had lost, that they might regain: the settler had got all, and the native had lost all.

William and the Revolution promised stability to the one; James and a successful resistance promised to free the religion and regain the lands of the other. Hence it is that England's Revolution of 1688 was battled for and against in Ireland with such desperate tenacity, that the memories of that period pass down the stream of time, like evil spirits, to conjure up angry thoughts—still barring, to a large extent, social intercourse or political union between the descendants of the warriors who heroically defended Derry, and the children of those who as gallantly stood in the breach at Limerick.

The plunder of Irish estates, under the names of confiscation and settlements, had been going on from the invasion of Strongbow; but within the century preceding the Revolution, its wholesale character may be gathered from a statement of some of the greatest estates, without a general detail of minor properties, the possessions of lesser chiefs.

In the South, the confiscations of the estates of the great Earl of Desmond exceeded 570,000 acres;* while in the North, upon the flight of Tyrone, and the Tyrconnel of that day, 800,000 acres†—or nearly the whole of the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Coleraine, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh—became the property of England's sovereign. But a few years after, and there were added to these 82,500 acres in Leinster:‡ and the settlers who possessed those estates, not content with having banished the natives into the almost uncultivated and western parts of the island, sought to

* Moore. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

perpetuate the degradation of the people whose estates they held, by depriving them of the clergy they loved, and the schools where they sought to educate their children; and by excluding them from all civil and military employment, and from residence within their corporate and principal towns. In the reign of Charles II., and but seven years preceding James's accession to the throne, we find the Duke of Ormonde issuing from Dublin Castle proclamations for this object, the spirit of which may be gathered from the final paragraph of one, bearing date October 16, 1678:

"And we do further, in his Majesty's name, straightly charge and command all and every the mayors, sovereigns, bailiffs, portrieves, and all other chief magistrates of the several and respective cities and towns corporate of this kingdom; and all and every the justices of the peace, sheriffs, constables, and all other his Majestie's good and loyal subjects, that they be more diligent and active than formerly they have been, in putting these commands in execution, upon pain of his Majestie's high displeasure; and that they and every of them, from and after the said twentieth day of November next, do make strict and diligent search and inquiry within the several and respective cities, towns corporate, liberties, counties, baronies, parishes, and places within their several jurisdictions, for and after all such titular Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, abbots, dignitaries, exercising, or who have exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this kingdom by any authority derived from the Pope or See of Rome; and also for and after all Jesuites and other regular priests, who at any time after the said twentieth day of November next shall continue, remain, or abide in this kingdom, or shall

return or come into this kingdom ; and also for and after all and every the receivers, relievers, and harbourers of them, or any of them ; and further, that they take special care that all societies, convents, seminaries, fryeries, nunneries, and Popish schools within this kingdom be immediately dissolved and utterly suppressed ; and that upon discovery of any such titular Popish archbishops, bishops, or other persons hereby required to depart out of this realm, that they do forthwith apprehend them, and commit them and every of them into safe custody, and certify us the Lord Lieutenant and Council thereof, with all convenient speed ; and do also forthwith return unto us the names of all their receivers, relievers, and harbourers ; and do take special care that the said persons be forthwith prosecuted for their contempt, and proceeded against according to the laws of this kingdom."*

This revival and enforcement of penal laws against the Catholics, either enjoying the form of Christianity they believed in, or having their children instructed as parental judgment might dictate—the bitterness of which is gathered, not more from the stern pronouncement of banishment against the clergy of a whole nation, and the entire suppressing of all schools, than from the dread punishment of even those who might charitably relieve a hunted and perishing Popish bishop—was speedily followed by others disarming as well as prohibiting the sale of gunpowder to Papists ; and one which sought to save the army from Popery, by offering rewards to such informers as would discover any of the army hearing Mass—the rewards

* Collection of original proclamations of Charles, James, and William, in possession of author.

varying from ten pounds for an officer, five for a trooper, down to two pounds for a foot soldier. Another issued in November, 1678, forbid Papists to enter Dublin Castle, or any of his Majesty's forts or citadels, and ordered the dispersion of Papists wherever assembled; and another piously provided that no officer or soldier should pass muster who did not *receive* at Christmas and Easter in a Protestant church, and had a certificate, accordingly, from a Protestant clergyman.*

Thus it was that the English interest in Ireland sought to banish and destroy the Catholic natives; and wherever they could not attain these objects, then by robbing them of their pastors and schools, to degrade and debase them into little better than savages—fit implements to be made use of as slaves to till the earth for their oppressors. And when it is remembered, that these abominable tyrannies were the laws enforced in Catholic Ireland, just seven years before the accession of James II. to the throne, one can readily understand the joy with which the down-trodden Catholics learned that England had got a Catholic ruler;† while it will also explain the conduct of Tyrconnel, in making a Catholic army so soon as

* Collection of original proclamations of Charles, James, and William in possession of author.

† "Such a prince, unexpectedly seated in such triumph on the throne of England, naturally inspired the Popish subjects of Ireland with the most extravagant expectations. They already saw the victory of their religion over all its adversaries; they fancied themselves already restored to the possessions of their fathers; and roused from that depression they so long endured, they enjoyed the flattering prospect of redress, of power and consequence, of royal favour, of every advantage to be derived from a king of their own religion."—*Leland's Ireland*, vol. iii. page 489.

the power was placed in his hands, and the motives that finally warranted him in openly showing that for Ireland, or Ireland's king, he neither expected nor sought the aid of such men as had hitherto misruled it. They had made their position one of determined antagonism to Catholic Ireland; and could scarcely expect that the king or his representative, being of the oppressed faith, could leave the country, its garrisons, or its armies, in the hands of enemies. Wherefore the Protestants—who so recently upheld these tyrannies—ought not to have complained so bitterly of the reaction their own deeds begot—a reaction which was not mere retaliation, but was, according to the actions of mankind, sound policy. For though oppression or civil disqualification, because of conscience, is utterly indefensible upon principle; yet it is scarcely rational for those—who so recently had disfranchised all Catholics—to complain that the Catholics should give them back the evil lesson which was taught by Protestant laws and Protestant rulers—and so recently taught, too, that the country passed suddenly from one extreme to the other; even while the bitter memories of recent sufferings were yet green in the hearts of the sufferers.*

* "All hope of peace between us is, therefore, completely destroyed; for such is their pride, such their excessive lust of dominion, and such our ardent ambition to shake off this insupportable yoke, and recover the inheritance which they have so unjustly usurped, that as there never was, so there never will be, any sincere coalition between them and us; nor is it possible there should be in this life, for we entertain a certain natural enmity against each other, flowing from mutual malignity, descending by inheritance from father to son, and spreading from generation to generation."—*Irish Remonstrance to Pope John XXII. Plowden's Ireland*, vol. i. page 135.

The history of that period in Ireland never can be rightly appreciated without properly understanding the peculiar condition of the country, and the position of men who—earnestly believing in the Catholic faith as the truth—were prohibited to have bishops or priests to perform the necessary duties of that faith, or to offer that sacrifice, indispensable in their belief; or to have teachers or schools for their children: these were evils far worse than civil disqualifications. And when they beheld their priests hunted like murderers—a price upon their heads, and the spy and the soldier on their track—sorrow became passion, and roused the slaves into watchfulness for the hour of resistance.

The Revolution of 1688 brought to the bulk of the Irish people none of the promise or the fruit it was to give to Great Britain. It unquestionably enlarged the liberties of England, and asserted, with unmistakeable argument, and a truly glorious result, the right of a people to resist the encroachments of arbitrary and oppressive power—even though clothed in regal dignity, and hallowed with all the attributes of divine right. It taught a lesson to sovereign power never to be forgotten, and gave to mankind a fixed principle to guide them as to the relations of ruler and ruled; and the circumstances under which government may be resumed back into the hands of the people, for whose good, and at whose will, it should alone be permanent. That great Revolution had its evils and its crimes. William, who was but the instrument of it, fell far short of either being a truly good or great man,* and certainly never could have

* "William, of Orange, was a man of bronze, a stranger to every feeling of nature and humanity. Raised by the party of De Witt,

been a hero, or taken any place in history beyond that of an able general,* if it had not been for the times and circumstances which surrounded him, and which made him what he was—the mere instrument wherewith thinking men, who loved liberty, struck down an oppressive ruler and a bad king.

In deposing the oppressive and the heartless James, it was an evil of much magnitude that no great virtues should stamp the idol put up in his place ; that the hand which struck down the Stuart should be that of his own son-in-law and his own nephew ; that the meanest of intrigues should be amongst the means used; and that after times and future historians should have to brand the name of the Deliverer with even the imputation of crimes dark and deadly as were the murderous infraction of the treaty of Nimuegen,† the murder of the De Witts, and the fearful massacre

he was their ruin ; Stuart by the family of his mother, he overthrew the Stuarts; the son-in-law of James II., he dethroned him ; and England, which he had taken from his family, he left to those whom he hated, to the princes of the house of Hanover. He had but one passion, but it was atrocious—the hatred of France. It is said that at the peace of Nimuegen, when he endeavoured to surprise Luxemberg, he already had a knowledge of the treaty; but he still thirsted for French blood. It is remarkable that this great and intrepid general almost always waged war while retiring before his foe, but his admirable retreats were worth victories."—*Potter's Michelet,* p. 275.

* "William was a fatalist in religion ; indefatigable in war ; enterprising in politics; dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart; a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign."—*Smollett,* p. 167.

† "There was a copy of the treaty of Nimuegen signed in the Prince of Orange's pocket, when he fought at Mons."—*Macpherson's Original Papers,* p. 8, vol. i.

of the confiding Macdonalds of Glencoe. These were evils that have withered up the laurels on the conqueror's head, and so stained the conqueror's brow, that the memory of the Prince of Orange will never be received as that of a hero, by those who recognize the hand of the divinity in the true greatness of the leader who not only creates mighty events, but shows his commission to achieve them, by wanting the crimes of, and possessing virtues far above, the mass of mankind.

It is an evil that the outward head of England's Revolution was not such a man; and the crime of that epoch was, that the glorious opportunity for asserting true liberty of conscience, and the right to worship God without State dictation, was for the time lost to the human race, who—viewing the Revolution apart from the light in which it was then beheld by the factious parties and sects of England—will recognize in it the assertion and triumph of a noble principle, forthwith to be, in its turn, degraded by intolerance and oppression equally criminal; the only difference being, that if James sought to oppress the Protestant religion, and elevate the Catholic, the glorious Revolution gave ascendancy to the Protestants, and pains, and penalties, and sufferings to the Catholics ; disgracing a noble event by a spirit of mean retaliation, which, if for a moment excusable in the down-trodden and the oppressed, when struggling to be free, becomes unpardonable in that strong power, which, having effected all it wanted, retaliated upon the fallen and the subdued, no longer able to strike or to defend. This want of magnanimity in the strong degraded the Revolution, by robbing it of that proudest

of all characters for a free Government to win—freedom of thought, but above all, freedom of conscience, to all its subjects.

Still, whatever faults may be found with the head of that Revolution ; fearful as were its omissions in regard to man's right of conscience; criminal as were its enactments against Catholics and Irishmen ; it was a change which caused great good to the future world. It humbled kings—gave men new thoughts, and new hopes—it has already revolutionized other lands and other States; and its seeds will yet be reaped into great changes and bright liberty for millions suffering under evil rule, and who, when they achieve freedom, must remember the mistakes of England, and regulate how religious liberty shall mean religious toleration for all, and perfect equality of political rights, irrespective of his mode of worship, for every man of moral character, who supports the State and its laws. No revolution can be truly great which lacks of full and unshackled religious toleration, and if England, after the deposition of James, had recognized liberty of conscience, the world had been spared many an after struggle. Monarchy would have been cemented in the hearts of Europe ; the French Revolution might never have occurred; and republicans could not now boast that Washington and the American Revolution were the only examples worthy of imitation : for England's Revolution had then been an unanswerable argument that regal power and perfect freedom went hand in hand—a prototype for universal government. It is alike remarkable, the promptitude and speed with which the invading usurper gained, without a blow, the throne of his uncle,

and the equal rapidity with which the feeble despot vacated the country, and fled before his enemies. The same contrast of character marked the future actions of each, stamping the one with as much of energy and firmness, as it did the other with the want of both these essentials for the leader of a great struggle. William had many of the attributes for a ruler. James wanted nearly all of them, while he yet had that obstinacy of character which led him to walk blindly onward in his attempt to govern a Protestant country with Catholic rulers, principles, and laws, in opposition to the views and judgment of the aristocracy, Church, and people, who made the nation, and who openly repudiated the system he sought to enforce. Nor did he see the futility of his attempt, and the danger of his course, until the chasm yawned at his feet, and he fell a crownless king into its depths. Had he acted with more caution and foresight, had he contented himself with claiming the right of toleration for his religion, and of equality of right for his Catholic subjects, he might have achieved much of good for both; instead of destroying their cause, and the cause of toleration itself, in one common ruin with that of his throne, name, and race. By his removal from the throne, England effected for the majority their right to regulate their own institutions according to their peculiar belief and opinions, and won, moreover, a nearer approach to free parliamentary representation, and a clearer definition of the subjects' rights; but the Catholic portion of the nation—it was a small minority—were not only pulled down from their improper ascendancy, but were unjustly re-manacled and re-oppressed.

The ruin of that minority in England, unjust in itself, was less so than was the treatment of their co-religionists in Ireland—then a kingdom subject to the crown of England. In Ireland, the great bulk of the population was Catholic, and the very principle upon which England was entitled to Protestant rulers and Protestant institutions—if it had weight at all—became a principle why Ireland was entitled not only to toleration for the practice of her faith, but also to have laws suited to, and local rulers of that faith.

This marked difference in the relative proportion of Protestants to Catholics in those days in England and Ireland, together with the continued persecution endured by the Catholics of the latter country from the period of England's Reformation, are the causes which made the contrast between the gentleness with which England went through her Revolution, and the life and death strife with which Ireland resisted it.

The Revolution in England was a thing of acclamation ; intrigued, diplomatised, speeched and shouted on to speedy and bloodless consummation; but in unfortunate Ireland, its every step was amid blood, carnage, and suffering. Deadly battle-fields, ruined towns, plundered peasants, and confiscated lands attested the desperation of the contest, and the resoluteness of combatants who, at each side, were urged on in the names of religion, home, and life.

Many peculiarities mark the Williamite and Jacobite struggle in Ireland—peculiarities to be understood only by a correct appreciation of the nature of her connexion with England, the laws made under foreign influence for her government, and the malignant and plundering spirit with which she was

long persecuted, whether in the name of race or religion it mattered little, provided broad lands, and rich herds, and treasure were to be had by the persecutors, who never needed an excuse for dispossessing the natives, and pushing them westward into the wilds, bogs, and uncultivated lands lying beyond the Shannon, and on the coasts of the Atlantic.

From the period of Strongbow's descent on Ireland in 1172, down to the Williamite Revolution, Ireland was handed over to needy adventurers, who, wanting everything, were glad to become secured in Irish lands, and who cared not whether the robbery was achieved in the name of law, or for the glory of God, provided the thing was done, and the result gain.

The mode of acquiring estates was achieved before the Reformation by penal enactments against the habits, customs, dress, and laws of the native Irish; but the change in the religion of the governing country afforded a new means, and hence arose the atrocious penal laws against the Catholic religion nominally, but virtually against all Irishmen; inasmuch as the bulk of the nation still clung to the faith of their fathers ; and thus new pretexts were put into play to complete the annihilation of a whole people, and the spoliation of their lands and properties—the doomed prey of English settlers. Tracked like wild beasts, expelled from their birth-places, hunted into wilds and fastnesses, a price upon their heads, and a ban upon their homes, it is little for wonderment that thoughts of deep vengeance festered into their hearts, and that a hatred dark and deadly against the *Sassenach* became the ruling passion of a people whom

the law and the ruler alike sought to make "Wild Irish" and "Savage Irishry." And that word Sassenach, meaning first the Saxon or the stranger, came finally to mean the Protestant too, in either shape the enemy and the persecutor. The word has outlived the times that gave it birth, yet even still, in the wilder and ruder parts of Ireland, it is a word never used without that bitter curling of the lip which shows the memories of past races still lingering in the breasts of the people—an undying evidence of England's cruel rule for centuries.

At the period of James's fall from the throne of England, Ireland was but slowly recovering from the effects left after the failure of the confederate Catholics, half a century before. The centre and West of the island was still held by Irishmen, but the Eastern coast and the best part of the North were in the hands of English or Scotch settlers, as well as a large portion of Munster. The rulers of the kingdom were its conquerors, settlers in the lands of princes and natives, the heads of whose septs were wanderers in foreign lands, selling their soldier services at many a foreign court,* and thirsting for the time and the circumstances that might lead them home, with foreign aid, to restore the liberties of their still fondly remembered† country. The septs were scattered and hunted

* "They pursued the only course open to them; they fled from a country where they could not live safely in peace nor die honourably in war."—*Mac Nevin's Ulster*, p. 42.

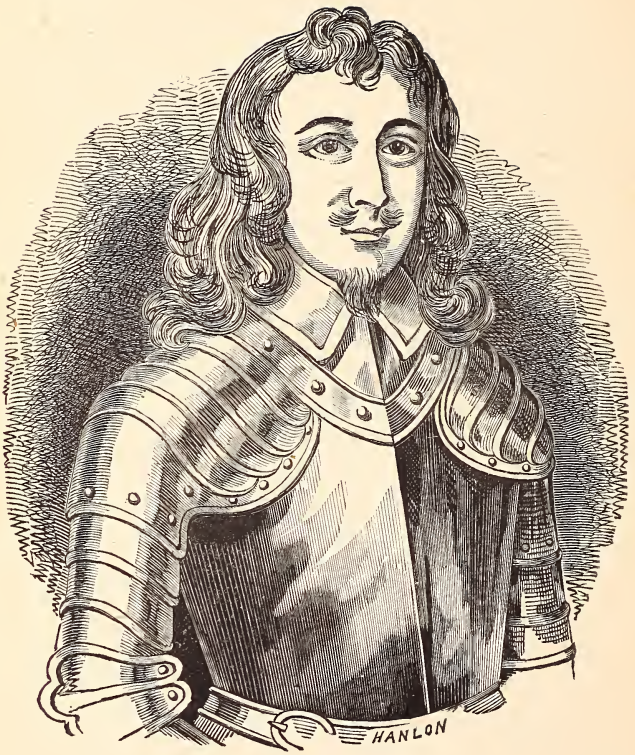
† "There are nations with retentive memories, whom the thought of independence does not abandon in servitude, and who, resisting against habit, which is elsewhere so powerful, at the end of centuries still detest and abjure the condition which a

from the hearths of their birth and the graves of their fathers, to live like beasts in the despised and neglected places, undeserving of English care or thought. Their religion was a crime, their priests persecuted, their temples desecrated or laid in ruins. Denizens of the bogs, or stragglers in the mountain passes, they lived apart from the English settlers, save in those towns where the want of toilers and labourers to do the masters' work afforded them a temporary and a suspicious shelter; yet where, in despite of oppression, they throve and multiplied, and whence they often banded for the old land and the old faith, whenever hope trumpeted them to arm for Ireland.

To men so situated, the fact that England had a Catholic king who would care and look after Catholic Ireland, stirred their hearts with a fire and a warmth, genial as their own hearts' blood. It created a new life through the land, which already seemed once more their own.

The news of Charles's death, in February, 1685, and the proclamation of James as his successor, made a jubilee day in Ireland. But ere the close of the month that joy was redoubled upon learning that James had appointed Richard Talbot as colonel of an Irish regiment. Deep-hoping and deep-thinking men

superior power has imposed upon them. Such is the Irish nation. This nation, reduced by conquest to submit to the English Government, has refused, for six hundred years, to consent and give its approbation to this Government; it repulses it as in its first days; it protests against it as the former population of Ireland protested in the combats in which it was defeated; it does not consider its revolts as rebellions, but as just and legitimate war."—*M. Augustine Thierry, Essay on the National Spirit of the Irish.*



~~DUKE OF ORMOND.~~

Colonel Richard Grace - from a drawing taken about forty years before his presence at the Siege of Athlone - formerly in possession of the author - Lt. Robert Cane.

recognized in this appointment of an Irishman and a Catholic to the command of a regiment, an evidence that the faith he openly avowed, and the country he claimed, were under the especial patronage of a Catholic king: and when Ormonde—who had been recalled from the viceroyalty of Ireland before the death of Charles, but who had not yet left that kingdom—went over into England, he carried bundles of addresses from the people of Ireland, declaratory of loyalty and attachment.*

Talbot had been an early toiler† in the cause of the Irish whose estates had been confiscated, and had, a short time before Charles's death, made such a report upon the state of things as he found them in Ireland, when he visited that country after his return from France, that Ormonde had received many suggestions for the reformation of its council, magistracy, and army.‡ But the full working of these plans into effect was reserved for Talbot himself, who, as an officer of the Irish army, was to begin the business of reform in that department, and thus to pave the way for the further changes contemplated as essential for the country.

Upon the departure of the Duke of Ormonde, the Government of Ireland was handed over to the Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Granard, who, as Lords Justices, ruled in the place of a Lord Lieutenant, and held office until the appointment of Lord Clarendon, who was made Lord Lieutenant, January 9th, 1686, and who held office until the 16th March, 1687, when

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 7.
† Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 425.
‡ Ibid. p. 559.

he handed over the state sword and authority into the hands of Richard Talbot, as Lord Deputy nominally, but virtually as Governor of all Ireland.

Talbot* had been the faithful friend and follower of James; he had clung to him through all the vicissitudes of a chequered and unfortunate life, and when James reached the throne, he at once chose the faithful follower of his fortunes as one of his confidential advisers† and secret councillors,‡ giving to him at the same time the command of an Irish regiment, and sanction for those changes in that kingdom which he had so long advised.§

* "A native of Ireland, descended from the race of old English of the pale, he came into the world about the time when this race were particularly united with the original Irish; and from concurring in their intrigues, were led to concur in their insurrections. From his infancy he imbibed his sentiments in religion and politics from the most bigoted to Popery and the most hostile to English government. In his youth he had been witness of the carnage at Drogheda, and on his escape from this infernal scene, naturally retained a violent abhorrence of fanatics, in which denomination he included all of the Protestant party."—*Leland's Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 501.

† "February, 1685, Sunderland established, with the consent of the king, a secret board to watch over the interests of the Catholics, which should meet at his office or at the lodgings of Chiffinch, page of the back stairs. The first members were the Lords Arundel and Belasyse, Jermyn who was created Lord Dover, and Talbot, who obtained the command of a regiment in Ireland, to whom Father Petre was soon added, and subsequently the Earls of Powis and Castlemaine."—*Lingard*, vol. xiv. p. 9.

‡ Ibid.

§ "Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, was descended from one of the first English settlers in Ireland, had entered at an early age into the service of James, and had merited, by his fidelity to his master, to be selected by Oates for one of his victims. By a timely flight to the Continent he escaped from the fangs of the

With Talbot's arrival in Ireland, the work of reform began, and the Protestant Lords Justices were little better than puppets, who moved as Talbot directed; and thus we find that the first steps in the breaking up and disarming of the Protestant militia were

informer, and on his return was rewarded by the king with rank and office. Tyrconnel was brave and generous, and devoted to the person of his benefactor; but rash, impetuous, and confident.—*Lingard's England*, vol. xiv. p. 134.

"His stature was above the ordinary size. He had great experience of the world, having been early introduced into the best company, and possessed of an honourable appointment in the household of the Duke of York, who, upon his accession to the crown, raised him to the dignity of an Earl, and well knowing his zeal and attachment, made him soon after Viceroy of Ireland. He was a man of very good sense, very obliging, but immoderately vain and full of cunning. Though he had acquired great possessions, it could not be said that he had employed improper means, for he never appeared to have a passion for money. He had not a military genius, but great courage. After the Prince of Orange's invasion, his firmness preserved Ireland, and he nobly refused all the offers that were made to induce him to submit."—*Berwick's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 94 and 105, French copy.

"Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, the fiercest and most uncompromising of all those who hated the liberties and religion of England."—*T. B. Macaulay's England*, vol. ii. p. 48.

"He is said to have proposed the assassination of Cromwell, and at another time to have attempted the life of Ormonde; but these are the calumnies of his enemies. He was fierce and violent, but he was incapable of baseness or treachery."—*Taylor's Civil Wars*, vol. ii. p. 122.

"Tyrconnel, a man who, from the blindness of his prejudices and fury of his temper, was transported with the most immeasurable ardour for the Catholic cause."—*Hume*, vol. viii. p. 243.

"Tyrconnel, who commanded in Ireland, was faithful to him, yet the better to serve his master, he disguised his sentiments and temporized with William, till the king could supply him

ordered by the Justices, and so dexterously directed by Talbot, that we may charitably suppose they had not seen through his plans when their proclamations were issued.

Thus we find them, by proclamation, bearing date the 20th day of June, 1685, directing that all captains of militia would gather in the arms, then in the personal custody of their soldiers, and that the captains would themselves take custody of those arms ; and when they had them so collected, that they would forward to the Lords Justices an accurate description of their respective kinds and number ; and the ingenious reason given for an order which does not seem to be disarming, nay, which perhaps the Lords Justices did not then think was a disarming, are thus set forth—" Whereas, upon information that the arms given out of the stores to the militia of this kingdom, as well as those paid for by the several counties, are not lodged in safe places in the said counties, as by instructions annexed to the commissioners of array was directed, but are scattered in places where they are exposed to the attempts of robbers, or other evil designing and disaffected persons," &c. The arms thus gathered in by the several captains and officers,

with reinforcements from France, which he had earnestly but secretly solicited."—*Anon. Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 213.

" Clarendon was recalled in February, 1686, and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, who already commanded as Lieut.-General, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. The Catholic religion began to be openly professed, the priests and friars appeared in public in the dress of their order, the ancient proprietors took possession of their estates, which had been usurped by the Cromwellian soldiers, and Catholics, as well as Protestants, were appointed to public offices."—*Mac Geoghegan's Ireland*, p. 585.

with the seeming view that they should take charge of them, were, upon the 16th of October, 1685, by another proclamation of the same Lords Justices, thus ordered into custody:—

"And for the better preservation of the said arms, and to the end to have them in readiness to answer any occasion of his Majestie's service, We do hereby, in his Majesty's name, require the said captains, or other officers in chief of the said militia troops or companies, by or before the sixteenth day of November next, to cause all the said arms, so delivered to them as aforesaid, to be safely conveyed to one of his Majesty's stores of arms and munition in this kingdom."*

Thus were the Protestant soldiers of Ireland disarmed under proclamation of the Protestant Earl and the Protestant Archbishop, in accordance with the instructions of the Catholic king, but virtually at the bidding of Colonel Talbot; and this was his first step for revolutionising Ireland.

The Lords Justices, having performed these services, were removed within a few months after, and the Earl of Clarendon sent over as Lord Lieutenant, upon the 9th of January, 1686, with instructions to admit Catholics to State and corporate offices ; James reserving to himself the granting of military commissions.

The work of remodelling the army was performed, by Talbot, so much to the satisfaction of James, that he created the colonel Earl of Tyrconnel, and in June, 1686, the Earl of Clarendon, then governor o Ireland, was instructed by his sovereign to confer

* Original Proclamations.

upon Talbot the rank of Lieutenant-General of the army in Ireland; a title which brought little additional power, for he had been virtually the commander of the Irish forces since the death of Charles, and a largely influencing power in everything that was done by the Irish Government.

In February, 1687,* the Earl of Clarendon was recalled as Lord Deputy from Ireland, and that office being conferred upon the Earl of Tyrconnel, the control of the entire country was placed in his hands—a measure which displayed the large amount of confidence which his sovereign had in his wisdom and fidelity, and how fully his measures of military reform, and suggestions for the civil management of the country, had won the approbation of James. Tyrconnel had already won the heart of the country; all men looked to him for the future amelioration of Ireland, and, before Clarendon was removed, when he went on a tour through the country, the peasantry saluted him with songs in praise of the Lieutenant-General.

When Tyrconnel arrived in Ireland, he found the whole regime for its government Protestant. A Protestant court, Protestant judges, Protestant officials, and a Protestant army. His business was to make the circle which was to surround James a circle of friends; he knew every man about him, and with a sagacity and a forethought, valuable to himself and his king, he paid these Protestant gentlemen the compliment, judges, courtiers, and soldiers, that in a war between the two religions, they would be sincere to their own faith and to a Protestant king, and therefore most unfit and unsafe allies in his

* 1686, old style.

efforts to make a Catholic government for a Catholic king in Ireland.* To understand him aright, the reader of history must regard him in that position, and he will feel that a Catholic Jacobite would have acted weakly, who did not do precisely what Tyrconnel did—remove the Protestant courtiers and judges, and recruit the army with Catholic soldiers. The whole struggle had by that time reduced itself to a question between two faiths, and he had been false to faith and king had he acted otherwise. He had charted out the course whereby he and his countrymen could have chance of battling against their common enemy. Hope of Protestant aid, or Protestant mercy, he could have none ; in his boyhood it had been quenched out of him, when, amid fire and blood, he witnessed how Cromwell and his soldiery dealt with the Catholics of Drogheda ; and his after-knowledge of their antipathies to his faith and his country had strengthened his belief that Catholic Ireland should stand alone, unless she had foreign Catholic aid. All over Europe the hand of Catholic was against Protestant, and that of Protestant against Catholic ; and Englishmen and Irishmen were imbued with just the same bitterness of soul. He therefore did just what his judgment and his conscience dictated to him as right—just that which, if similarly circumstanced, a bold Protestant, like George Walker, would have done for his faith

* "From the official correspondence with Ireland, in the State Paper Office, London, it appears that the Earl of Tyrconnel wished to have as few as possible of any but natives of Ireland in the Irish army, and that he forwarded an intimation of that kind to the king."—*O'Callaghan's Irish Brigades*, note, p. 341.

and his king ; and assuredly, though with some mistakes, he did it by wholesale, and in a manner that left no doubt of what he was and what he contemplated. To have tolerated the Protestant religion, after winning freedom for the Catholic, might be a thing possible after victory, but not before it—whether in these days either party was enlightened sufficiently to make such a toleration, is dubious—but whatever doubt may be on that subject, there can be none that James and Tyrconnel would have been fools to expect that Protestant corporations would preserve towns, or Protestant soldiers fight to win liberty, for a faith and a people abhorred. Therefore, had there been no dislike of the reformed faith amongst the Irish, it was yet sound policy to take arms and power out of the hands of those considered likely to use both for the invader, and analogous, in a large degree, to the disqualifying and disarming processes to this day enforced in Ireland by all governments dreading the hostility of the people.

The question is not an abstract one, of legal or constitutional privileges broken or preserved, but the simple one of a general or a minister acting for a sovereign he conscientiously believes to be the rightful one, and for a faith which he trusts in for his very soul's salvation ; and under such circumstances it will not alter his position, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, Christian, Jew, or Turk. It was a bold and desperate game, and none other than a bold and desperate man could play it. But Tyrconnel was one of those adventurous spirits who loved the game all the better because of the greatness of the hazard; and he played with the cool resolve of a man who

had calculated the chances and risked his all upon them.

Had he won, what a place he would have occupied in Ireland—the restorer of James to his throne—of Catholicity free—of Ireland's independence! his own fortunes, how enlarged—Viceroy of Ireland in perpetuity—nay, perchance, its king! Who can now read the extinguished visions that floated through the active brain of an ambitious statesman—and then not a whisper of blame from the numerous historians ever ready to blacken the fame of a fallen and bygone enemy, but who would, as a consequence of his success, mildly paint him as "a great and able, though mistaken man?"

Tyrconnel saw James's danger ere he fell. It was obvious that Dutch and English intrigue, and Protestant resistance, would risk his English throne; he had therefore begun to regulate Ireland as a stronghold for his master; and he well knew that the Protestant and Puritan party were not those to whom he should entrust the cause of a man then being pushed out of England because he antagonized Protestantism. His policy was plain; to take power and arms out of the hands of the enemies of his sovereign, and to arm and give power to those men he felt confidence in. Therefore, he put arms into the hands of Catholic tradesmen and Catholic peasantry, and he officered them with men of their own faith, in many instances disbanding whole companies and regiments, whose faith or whose public opinions made them marked as likely to be disloyal to his master, or dangerous to the game on hands. He went further; directly or through the king, he sought to change

the governing bodies of towns in those days—and bodies of large political power then—by abolishing old charters and creating new ones; he was removing from the corporations men of obnoxious political sentiments, and placing in their stead a class of men upon whose loyalty he had reliance. With the University, the Courts of Law, and the Castle, he dealt in a manner equally bold and open, plainly intimating that all who wished to hold high places and seats of emolument must be subservient to his master and his master's views. The true Celts, the mere Irish Catholics, clung to him.

The result was, that bold, and honest, and earnest Protestants first resisted, and then, finding resistance vain, fled the country as lost, and passed over into England as their place of safety. But their departure did not stop the Irish Viceroy's movements, he looked on as if he had anticipated, perhaps desired, the flight of men he considered as enemies.

The devotion of the unfortunate Strafford to the father was not more marked than that of Tyrconnel to the son. Each risked all for his royal master. Strafford lived to feel in death how feeble and worthless was a Stuart's gratitude. Tyrconnel died before his master's cause had utterly failed, and had James been destined to a restoration of his English throne, under a reformed parliament, Tyrconnel had no doubt been impeached for his doings in Ireland, and perhaps the tower and the axe, sanctioned by the royal signature of James, had been his reward too. Whether such a foreboding ever loomed across his mind we may not conjecture; one thing is certain, that he felt it was a game of deep and deadly hazard, and

he strained all his energies to win it. He toiled on in his mission with a tenacity and a perseverance becoming a great and a determined man, displaying that firmness which ever springs from calm and decisive resolve, where the consciousness of right, aided by large self-esteem, and a high sustaining pride—one can read all these in his portrait still—carry a man onward to the goal, there to find a scaffold or a throne.

But he failed, and therefore history little notes him, save where malevolent intolerance would blacken the memory of a too earnest Irishman.

While Tyrconnel laboured to create a great party and an army for James in Ireland, there were remote consequences which might eventuate in the independence of his country, and which did not escape his sagacity and his forethought.

True to his sovereign, and to the cause he struggled for, he yet calculated upon what might result if James, as King of Ireland, died without issue, while William was the ruler of England. Was Ireland to be handed over to England? Was a foreigner and a stranger to be her sovereign then? His Irish heart answered—No! and with the shrewd anticipation of such a contingency, he was pre-arranging for Ireland to cast off the connexion with England, and be an independent state. It was a far off object—so far as to seem almost visionary—but to it, as a possible event, the Lord Deputy looked with the judgment of a statesman and the heart of a true nationalist, and with the same keenness of perception which, but a brief period before, enabled him to arrive at an early knowledge of the Prince of Orange's designs upon England, and to be

the first to apprise James of the dangers threatening to his throne, at a time when he and his ministers not only doubted, but actually laughed at Tyrconnel's information as an absurdity not worthy of credence.*

Tyrconnel felt that if ever Ireland was presented with the opportunity of asserting her independence of English rule, her internal divisions might mar her chances of being able to avail herself of it ; besides that, she greatly lacked those military resources and the materiel in both arms and money indispensable for such an emergency. He believed her men to be able, if once organized, to do battle with the invader, but they would want artillery and all the munitions of war, and a navy, which they had not. For these, he must look outside Ireland, and seek for the aid of some power whose interest in Ireland, either as a source of new trade, as a new commercial ally, or whose interest in weakening the power of England might be such as to induce her to lend money, men, and arms for the independence of a country which, when it once became a new state in Europe, could repay the debt. France was then a power deeply interested in weakening England. Everything which did so gave strength to France, while an ally in the west of Europe must have been to her an object well worth her consideration as a matter both of

* "The enterprise of the Prince of Orange was yet a secret to James, when Tyrconnel, we are assured, received intelligence of his design from Amsterdam, and conveyed it to the King. It was received with derision both by Sunderland and his master."—*Leland*, vol. iii. page 510.

"The Earl of Tyrconnel obtained the earliest account of the preparations in Holland by a ship which arrived in the Bay of Dublin."—*Graham's Derry.*

trade, revenue, and glory. To France, therefore, he looked for sustainment under such circumstances, and from the viceregal throne of Ireland he opened a secret negotiation with Louis XIV., anticipatory of such an event, and with a distinct avowal that the independence of Ireland was what he aimed at.

In August, 1687, the Lord Deputy opened a correspondence, through a confidential friend, with one of the French ministry. He did not choose Barillon, who was then the French ambassador at London, but he chose an attaché of the embassy, M. de Bonrepaux,* who held a situation in the French marine, and who, besides being an abler† diplomatist than Barillon, was less in the confidence of James's minister, Sunderland, and more in that of Tyrconnel and the Catholic party. He opened it, too, with an express stipulation that not only was Sunderland to be kept ignorant of it, but that the French ambassador should remain equally unacquainted with it. M. de Bonrepaux immediately communicated the views and application of Tyrconnel to the French king, by letter, through M. de Seignelay, who promptly forwarded Louis's reply, instructing M. de Bonrepaux to open a direct communication with Tyrconnel, assuring him that M. de Barillon should be kept ignorant of the proposition, pronouncing it "*l'affaire tres importante*," promising every aid, and that all things should be arranged at Brest, in readiness for the emergency, "*pour maintenir la religion Catholique dans l'Irlande, et separer ce royaume du reste de l'Angleterre, en cas qu'un*

* Lingard. † Macaulay.

*prince protestant parvint a la couronne."** The French monarch of that day regarded the affair with intense interest, and beheld in the Deputy's proposal a certain means of aggrandizing France, by giving to

* EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM M. DE BONREPAUX TO M. DE SEIGNELAY.

"*4th Sept.*, 1687.

"A man of consideration from the Court of England, who has the confidence of Lord Tyrconnel, and whom he makes use of for all secret matters which have to be submitted to the king, his master, has informed me that his friend has permitted him to disclose to me the idea he entertained that in case the King of E— happened to die, he should take measures not to come under the dominion of the P. of Orange, and to put himself under the protection of the king. He would have wished that I should go to Chester, where Lord Tyrconnel would meet me, to confer on the project. But as I know by his conversation that Lord Tyrconnel's intention was to demand that supplies should be at once laid up in the magazines, of arms, saddles, and other articles, which he believed he could not easily obtain in Ireland, in case of necessity, I did not consider myself authorized to enter into a negotiation of such a nature without express orders. I only said that I would keep the secret, as they strongly exhorted me, particularly with regard to M. de Barillon, whom they fear on account of Lord Sunderland; and that if, on his return from Chester, there was anything more particular to be communicated to me, I would write of it to you, in order to receive his Majesty's commands; that at the same time it appeared to me that the King of E— was not in such a state, either on account of age or health, as to make it necessary to think of taking measures so remote. The same man has told me that Lord Sunderland has made Lord Tyrconnel understand that his design was to withdraw into Ireland in case of accident, but that the latter did not confide in the other. I also know by the Marquis of Abbeville, that the greatest uneasiness of the P. of Orange is, lest, before the death of the King of E—, Ireland should be put in a condition to separate itself from his power, when he shall come to the throne. I did not consider it was necessary to exhibit much

her a great Catholic ally out in the Atlantic, so calculated to facilitate French trade and commerce, and to nurse soldiers and sailors for the French nation.

anxiety about a proposition of this nature. There will be always sufficient time to return to a man who makes this sort of advance, if the king finds it convenient. I know very certainly that the intention of the King of E— is, to make this kingdom lost to his successor, and to strengthen it so that all his Catholic subjects may have an asylum assured to them there. His project is to put matters in this state in the course of five years, but Lord Tyrconnel presses him incessantly that it should be done in less time; and in fact, his B. M. has sent within eight days a vessel laden with powder, arms, and mortars, at the solicitation of this man who has spoken to me."

M. DE SEIGNELAY TO M. DE BONREPAUX.

"29*th Sept.*, 1687.

"I have informed the king of what you have written to me, concerning the proposition made to you on the part of Lord Tyrconnel, and his Majesty finds the matter most important. But you must take the greatest care, before replying to this person, that nothing should be done lightly, nor without being assured that he has a positive instruction from Lord Tyrconnel. That being so, you can tell him that the king agrees to the proposition he has made, and that in the event of the death of the King of E—, if he should find himself in a condition to maintain himself in Ireland, he may count on considerable succours on the part of his Majesty, who will make all necessary dispositions at Brest for this purpose; and as a matter of this importance demands impenetrable secrecy, it is well you should assure him that this shall not pass by M. de Barillon, and that you should take means for a direct communication with Lord Tyrconnel, that in case of necessity we might discuss with him the conditions under which his Majesty would accord to him his countenance, and the succours he may want in order to maintain the Catholic religion in Ireland, and to separate that kingdom from the rest of England, in case a Protestant prince should come to the throne."—*Translated from Lingard's England*, Notes, page 294, vol. xiv.

He felt no doubt, that if ever France was really to have the mastery of the sea, the acquisition of Ireland as a friendly state, indebted to France for liberty and support, must alike tend to maintain the French supremacy on the waters, and to weaken England's power, inasmuch as, in addition to the absolute loss of so much territory, Ireland's superior ports and situation, whether open for commerce or as shelter for a great navy, stood in position and in reality superior to England herself. He must have calculated that with such a friend lying out in the ocean between Europe and America, it needed but to be a French citadel to be the entrepot of a commerce which was to be France's with the world.

If Tyrconnel yearned after such a position for his country, the French king seems to have desired it with equal earnestness. The sequel tells why it did not take effect and how it failed.

There were but six months between Tyrconnel's advent to power as Governor of Ireland and this correspondence with the French king; these months were ones of energetic work and steady preparation.

Clarendon yielded up the sword gracefully, commending the loyalty of the Irish people, and of the Protestants in particular. Tyrconnel cautiously replied, promising security to all. But the Protestants, who had recent experience of his mode of dealing with the army, which, though "he executed very much to the king's satisfaction and advantage,"* was yet no recommendation to him amongst his Majesty's Protestant settlers, beheld his rule with the deepest

* Clarke's Life of James, vol. ii. p. 61.

apprehensions. They remembered how, first as Col. Talbot, and then as Lieutenant-General, he had dexterously managed the disarming of the English or Protestant party; how, under the pretext of size or age, he had discharged all those soldiers and officers, whom he thought obnoxious and they believed to be true; and then how fast he had recruited the army with those Catholic soldiers hitherto debarred from its ranks, but who were enrolled as the army of the country, and most of them officered by men of the old Catholic gentry, whose politics the settlers considered nearly as bad as their religion. Therefore, upon the arrival of the Lord Deputy, a vast mass of Protestants left the country; many passed into England, some into Holland, where they entered the Dutch army, and within a brief period returned to take vengeance upon their enemies in Ireland, while others—and they are estimated at about ten thousand—gathered into the province of Ulster, and, taking counsel together there, spiritedly awaited the blow which was to decide for them their fate in Ireland.

North of the Boyne, were congregated the men whose religious and political opinions made them resolute in their antagonism of the rule and measures of Tyrconnel and James. They consisted of English and Scotch settlers, and the descendants of the men who had won the estates of the exiled and ruined natives. In religion they were Protestants or Puritans; and however these religions had made a severance between them in the reign of Charles I. and of Cromwell, all differences were now buried in the consciousness of a common cause against arbitrary power and Catholicism.

The broad and noble Shannon, rolling from the North through the centre of the kingdom, divided the remainder of the country into two great divisions. West of its waters were gathered the Catholic Celts, the descendants of princes, and their feudal followers—now degenerated into graziers and creaths; and permitted to linger there only because their lands, less fruitful than their original possessions in the north and east, were not considered worth the struggle necessary to win them: for this boundary line of water was in itself a noble fence for a harassed and desperate people, while along its banks frowned gloomy hills, and deep ravines—making steep and difficult fastnesses, well suited for the battle ground between the ruined and desperate native and his ruthless and plundering oppressors. East of this boundary were most of the then principal towns of Ireland, walled and fortified according to the military notions of the country and the time, and within those walls were to be found the merchants, the traders, and the artisans, who, differing in religion and politics, yet toiled side by side in the common pursuits of life. Recently the municipalities had, under James's charters, been made Catholic; so that the governing powers in the principal corporate towns were of that faith. Still it might be said the people of the North were English and Scotch Protestant settlers; east of the Shannon they were English and Irish, Protestant and Catholic; while west of that noble river, the true Celts, the mere Irish and Catholic, with scarcely any admixture of other race or creed, held almost undisputed possession; and with hearts swelling under renewed hopes, were looking across its waters at the rich green fields,

once the properties of their fathers, and at the abbeys and graveyards, where reposed the ashes of their ancestors: they were exiles dreaming of their old homes, Catholics yearning after the restoration of the old Faith, and Irishmen thirsting after another blow with England for their lost liberties.

It was a brief and intensely anxious period of suspense which intervened between James's accession to the throne, and the struggle in Ireland which followed upon the Revolution, and men were putting themselves in readiness on every side to take part in it.

In the North, noiselessly but actively, the partisans of William and the Revolution sought to repair the losses they sustained by Tyrconnel's measures of disarming and disbanding Protestant corps. Swords were sharpened and spears wrought, and powder and firearms, of all makes and shapes, were treasured as things of wealth, speedily to be needed; and the sons of men who but fifty years before had worked an English Revolution, now whispered their apprehensions and confided to each other their stern resolves.

In the corporate towns and over the eastern country, regiments of Catholics, officered with men of their own faith, proudly marshalled before Catholic mayors and sheriffs, and municipal bodies, and boastingly proclaimed their hopes and their intentions; while westward, the natives, who, recognized in English history as Rapparees, were to be the guerillas of the coming war, gathered upon the mountains and mustered in the valleys and the bogs, whetting their pikes for work near at hand.

Ireland was about to strike again and risk all. Upon the one side, for a Dutchman and Protestantism, for faith, life, and land ; upon the other side, for a worthless Stuart, but yet a Catholic king, and the free exercise of that Catholic faith for which they had been ever risking and losing all. One deep-thinking man, true to the Catholic king and faith, sought ably to restore both : but he had eyed farther into the future than most men ; he beheld liberty and independence in the distance, and aimed at it. That man was Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel.

The careful student of history cannot fail to recognize in him a remarkable man. Historians have painted him in various colours. Some deal generously by him, and accord to him free praise for many virtues, while others describe him as blackened by the deadliest crimes and vices belonging to a debauched court and a criminal age.

But the man who could not be purchased by William, and was yet able to lead that wary king astray ; who, in the midst of serious civil contentions, and amid many difficulties, opened a communication with the King of France for the positive and complete liberty of his country, should opportunity admit of it; who, in diplomacy, used to his purposes such men as Sunderland and Clarendon, Mountjoy and Lauzan; who remained faithful to the king and to his faith to the last ; who, amid a thousand antagonistic circumstances, with small means and an empty treasury, worked with such consummate skill as to achieve wonders in the direction of creating a large Catholic party and a Catholic army for his Catholic

master ; and who, while life was spared to him, never ceased to toil, whether in health or sickness, for the object his heart was bent upon, was indeed a man of more than ordinary stamp, and largely gifted with the attributes befitting a leader.

He may have had great faults, but he had great virtues too; and amongst them must be classed, fidelity to his faith, to his friends, and to his country.

CHAPTER I.

THE MUSTER OF THE NORTH.

Upon the holy festival of Christ's nativity, and in the year 1688, that unfortunate exile from throne and country, James II., landed upon the coast of France in search of hospitality and succour, and not without hopes of regaining all he had lost. For arms, and money, and soldiers he looked to the French king; but his main hopes rested upon the attachment of his Irish subjects and the Earl of Tyrconnel. There, in Ireland, he dreamed, might be a kingdom for a Catholic king, for there was a Catholic army, and towns and garrisons with Catholic corporations within their walls, whence battle might be made with the plunderer of his crown and kingdoms. Within the brief term of eighteen days after his arrival in France, he dispatched Captain Rooth with a letter, descriptive of his position and his expectations, to the Governor of Ireland. "I send this bearer, Captain Rooth, to you, to give notice of my being here, and to be informed how things are with you, that accordingly I may take my measures; hoping that you will be able to defend yourself and support my interest there till summer at least. I am sure you will do it to the utmost of your power, and I hope this king will so press the Hollanders, that the P. of Orange will not have men to spare to attack you; in the meantime (till I hear from you by the

bearer), all I can get this king to do is to send seven or eight thousand muskets; he not being willing to venture more armes or any men, till he knows the condition you are in, so that it will be absolutely necessary that you send back this bearer as soon as may be, with one or two persons more, in order thereunto. Just before I left Rochester I had a letter from you—as I remember it was on the 13th of December—which tould me all was quiet with you, and I hope is so still, and that the Prince of Orange has sent over no force to invade you yet; what more I have to say I refer to my Lord Melford's letter, and to this bearer, who can give you an account how we all got away, and how kindly I have been received here. I have not had any letter from England of a later date than the day I left it; you may expect a duplicate of this, which I purpose to send, for fear of accidents.—J. R."*

This letter, of which Rooth was the bearer, plainly shows the wretched condition of James, who though then absent nearly three weeks out of England, had not in that kingdom one earnest friend to send after him into France letter, word, or message. It shows, too, that while the King of France was willing to aid him, he yet awaited information from Tyrconnel, to whom he looked rather than to James, as a principal in whatever movement was to be made in Ireland, and that he should do so was quite in keeping with the correspondence entered into, months before, between Tyrconnel and Louis XIV., through the instrumentality of M. de Bonrepaux and M. de Seignelay, for the ultimate independence of Ireland.

* Clarke's Life of James, vol. ii. p. 319.

Tyrconnel was at that moment the centre upon which everything turned. James relied upon him in all matters; Louis regarded him as chief of Ireland; and William sought by negotiation to induce him to a quiet surrender of the kingdom. He was but Deputy-Governor of Ireland, yet three sovereigns were treating with him as though he were its King.

The partisans of William were persuading him to hand over the kingdom to their master, and he listened as though he meant to follow their advice, and looked upon all resistance as vain, awaiting but the sanction of James, pleading it would not be honourable to resign the trust without at least that Sovereign's knowledge; and while he thus made an ostentatious display of wavering and hesitation, he was treating with Louis for foreign aid, and stipulating arrangements for war with all the energies of his nature, having succeeded for a time in deceiving even the wily William as to his designs.*

Tyrconnel had already enrolled great masses of the Irish people into nominal regiments, and was preparing to make them soldiers, but he wanted for them arms, ammunition, clothing, and money. The Revolution of England had progressed even faster than his movements in Ireland, and though willing to take the field, he was far from a fit condition of readiness to do so.

While James had been flying out of England, unforeseen circumstances had occurred in Ireland which hastened the necessity for war. The trumpet had blown, and aroused to arms men determined to use them.

* Vide Harris, Clarke, Dalrymple, and the State Papers.

The Protestants of Ireland had become imbued with a belief that the creating of Catholic magistrates and a Catholic army, and the measures taken to disarm the Protestants, were but the prelude to a massacre of all professing their faith, and though there are no facts on historic record to warrant so dire an apprehension, yet it is certain that such a belief and dread kept them in a state of constant excitement, and begot that resistance at Derry and Enniskillen of which James was in ignorance when he sent Rooth with his letter to Tyrconnel.

In the first week of December, 1688, anonymous letters had been written to various influential Protestants in the North, purporting to be friendly intimations of a massacre of Protestants to be made by the Catholics on the 9th of December. Had there been really such a conspiracy, some evidence of its existence would have been discovered within latter years, but no document or fact, no living lips or pen ever recorded aught about it, beyond the surmises of the period, and those unrepresented letters. It is rational to assume that if it had a real existence, some one of such a confederacy would have revealed it for the reward sure to follow such a revelation; but nothing of the kind has ever happened ; it is therefore far more probable, that, like other mock plots of the day, it was got up by some of the northern leaders with a view to stir up the Protestants of Ulster into that union of resistance which terror of it did beget ; and for such an end it was a dexterous means.

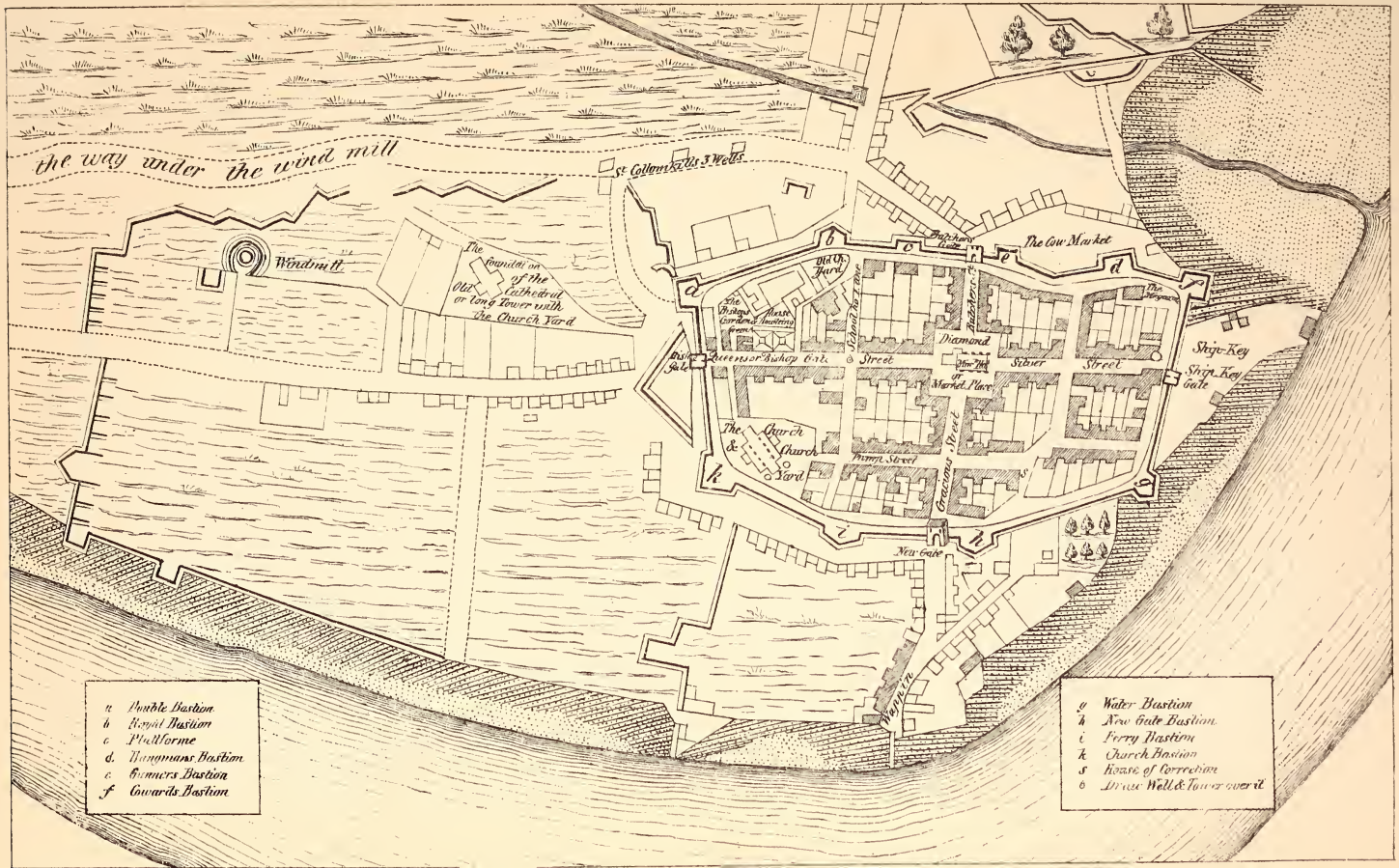
The men who received these letters exhibited them to their friends, and sent copies of them into the sur-

rounding towns and villages, where they created a spirit of determined resistance.

Amongst the towns occupied by Protestant settlers in the North, whose quiet was disturbed by these rumours and letters, two were peculiarly well fitted for military defence—they were the towns of Enniskillen and Derry—the one was built in the midst of, and surrounded at all points by water; the other was compensated for whatever it lacked in position, by its being, for those days, a strongly walled city. Men's hearts and courage grow large in proportion with the power and strength of the resources which surround them; to such points they congregate, and in such places they stand together, and face the danger which threatens them; and right gallantly the men of Enniskillen and Derry looked to the edges of their swords, and resolved to use them. Their courage, too, waxed the stronger, because of the, to them, joyous news just arrived in Ireland, that James had fled from England, and that the Prince of Orange was seated on his throne.

Both were Protestant English settlements, made upon the confiscated territories of Irish chieftains. Previous to the plantation of Ulster, the water-bound site of Enniskillen was occupied by a fortalice* of the Maguires. Londonderry, anterior to the settlement, was known in Irish history by little else than ecclesiastical character, and was called Deirie Calgach and Derry-Columbkille; but after the sale of Ulster, the cognomen of London was prefixed to Derry, and it was made a fortified city, because, saith the order of

* Irish Parliamentary Gazetteer, vol. ii. page 186.


the way under the wind mill
St Collumkills 3 Wells
Windmill
The foundation of the Cathedral or long Tower with the Church Yard
The Cow Market
Old Ch. Yard
Diamond
Silver
Street
Queens or Bishop Gate
Shipp-Key
Shipp-Key Gate
Market Place
The Church & Church Yard
Penny Street
Gracious Street
New Gate
a Double Bastion
b Royal Bastion
c Platforme
d Runnamans Bastion
e Gunners Bastion
f Cowards Bastion
g Water Bastion
h New Gate Bastion
i Ferry Bastion
k Church Bastion
s House of Correction
o Dryne Well & Tower over it

England, "The town or borough of Deiree* is, by reason of the natural seat and situation thereof, a place very convenient and fit to be made both a town of war and a town of merchandize." And the order was somewhat prophetic. Derry was surrounded by a good wall, but having a sloping aspect up from the River Foyle, upon whose banks it is built, would not now be considered as a good military situation. It had also several† bastions, but its best military protection was the invincible spirit of its people.

At the period of the excitement consequent upon the apprehended massacre, the condition of both parties as to arms and the necessaries of war was unsuited to a great struggle. The Protestants had been extensively disarmed, and the Protestant militia had been broken—though some of its officers still lingered in the ranks of Tyrconnel's new levies, who were mostly raw and undrilled, and very imperfectly armed, having little else than the wretched arms taken up under the proclamations; there being no efficiently supplied magazines at the Lord Deputy's service. There were several regiments, mere skeletons, the ranks being unfilled, and those enrolled unpaid. Tyrconnel speedily learned the condition of the matter, and sought by proclamations and tenders of security to Protestants, to allay the fears which pervaded the entire Protestant party. He even put on the semblance of being about to leave the country, and offered to resign the sword into other hands, while his effects were said, the better to remove all doubts of his inten-

* Larcom's Derry, page 38.

† Eight bastions, two platforms, and the roof of the church as a third, were its defences, according to Walker.

tions, to have been put on board a ship in Dublin harbour ; but he had no such intentions, and he was actually, while so dissembling, arranging the army for the North, issuing commissions to Irish noblemen and gentlemen to raise new corps and regiments at their own expense, and using all the rough and worn materials within his reach to wage war with the enemy. That enemy have hitherto been called Protestants, and Tyrconnel's party Catholics, but now that they have become enrolled as partisans of rival kings, they are henceforth to be designated as Williamites or English, and as Jacobites or Irish. It was virtually a war between the two nations—each using foreign aid. The one, as conquerors, fighting to retain what they had won ; the other, as helots, battling to be free. The Williamites were inconsiderable in numbers, save in the North. In Dublin their numbers were controlled by a large Jacobite party ; south and west of Dublin they were but isolated individuals, or sections too small to effectively muster and show front to the Jacobites ; but they were numerous in the North, and had possessed themselves of Derry, Enniskillen, Coleraine, the Fort of Culmore, and also of Sligo, a northern point of Connaught.

It was much in favour of the Williamite party too, just then, that of the eight thousand men who constituted the Irish Jacobite army, one half had been sent over into England to aid in resisting the Orange invasion, and the other half were scattered over the kingdom; Tyrconnel having but six hundred with him in Dublin ; besides, the Williamite party had, in despite of all efforts to disarm them, retained a quantity

of good and useful arms,* and were men trained to, and familiar with, their use from their earliest years, while the Jacobites were mostly men, into whose hands arms had fallen for the first time, and who had much to learn before becoming accustomed to them, while the great bulk had no arms at all.

In the latter end of the previous month, November, the regiment of Lord Mountjoy had been ordered from Derry up to Dublin. This regiment, officered by Protestants, and holding a large number of that persuasion in its ranks, possessed the confidence of the Northerns, while they looked with deep apprehension to the regiment intended to replace Mountjoy's, that of the Earl of Antrim†—one of Tyrconnel's new levies, wholly Catholic, and recruited exclusively of men of six feet and upwards. Owing to the confusion inseparable from such periods, this regiment was not in readiness to replace Mountjoy's for a fortnight after the latter's removal for Dublin, and to this circumstance—as well as to the ill-equipped condition of the first of its companies which came before it, armed only with skeins and clubs—Derry was indebted for its readiness for resistance.‡

* Harris, page 186.

† "They were all of them entirely Papists, and many of them, both officers and soldiers, the offspring or near relatives of those who, in the rebellion of 1641, had so deeply imbrued their hands in British and Protestant blood. And they had, too, just reason to believe that these rake-hells (who were the very scum of the country) had the hereditary inclinations as well as the blood of their ancestors running in their veins."—*Mackenzie's Narrative*, page 2.

‡ Graham's Derry, page 18.

The refusal of Derry to admit this regiment and that of Enniskillen to join the regiment of Sir Thomas Newcomen, quartered within its walls, marked the spirit of the day and temper of the Williamite party, and virtually opened the struggle with such energy as to give to it thus early that prestige of success which eventuated in triumph.

The seventh of December, 1688, was a day of earnest thought and stirring excitement in the town of Derry. Two communications had that day been made to its authorities of a startling nature. One was a copy of the celebrated letter to the Earl of Mount Alexander,* detailing a contemplated massacre of the Protestants for the 9th of December; the other was a letter from one of the old governors, Colonel Philips, announcing to them that the first companies of Lord Antrim's regiment had arrived in his village of Newtown-Limavaddy, but twelve miles distant from Derry, for which city they were on their march, and adverting to the Mount Alexander letter, and to the 9th of December as the day of doom, then within

* "*December 3rd*, 1688.

"Good my Lord,—I have written to you to let you know that all our Irishmen through Ireland is sworn that on the 9th day of this month they are all to fall on and kill and murder man, wife, and child: and I desire your lordship to take care of yourself, and all others that are judged by our men to be heads, for whosoever of them can kill any of you, they are to have a captain's place; so my advice to your honour is, to look to yourself and give other noblemen warning; and go not out, either night or day, without a good guard with you, and let no Irishman come near you, whosoever he be; so this is all from him who was your father's friend, and is your friend, and will be, though I dare not be known as yet for fear of my life."—*Mackenzie*, p. 3.

forty-eight hours of completion, calling upon them to look to their own safety,* and to close their gates against men presumed to be the instruments or doers of the intended massacre; and promising, in the event of their doing so, to be with them with all the men he could muster.

While these alarming communications were on their way to Derry, the foremost companies of Lord Antrim's regiment were moving in the same direction—and before the excitement produced by these letters had time to cool, it was announced in the midst of the assembled public that the Antrim regiment was within two miles of their walls. There was but little time for deliberating: bold men talked of shutting their gates and denying admission to the dreaded strangers; the humbler citizens clamoured to be doing it; discreet men, and men of substance, who had something to lose, hesitated, and their wavering was confirmed into a refusal so to act, when, upon consulting with the bishop, he was found to be totally averse to such a proceeding. Meanwhile, three companies of the obnoxious regiment appeared on the opposite banks of the Foyle, from whence they could approach the city directly, only by a ferry, there being then no bridge connecting the opposite banks. The men rested on the water's edge while their officers were ferryed over into the city, where they came to seek billets and accommodation for their men. Meeting with the delay consequent upon the disturbed state of the town, the officers did not return as speedily as they were expected, and the men began to cross the river,

* Walker's Derry.

and were gathering upon the near banks, preparing to enter the place where their chief arms* already were, as well as their anticipated quarters. This movement but added to the excitement and increased the alarm of the youth of Derry, nine of whom are said to have been the number taking the initiative in a measure of bold resistance ; they drew their swords, seized the city keys from the main guard, and rushing to the ferry gate, to which Antrim's men were now approaching, they pulled up the draw-bridge, closed and locked the gates, and thence hastily passing to the other entrances, closed all, securing them by guards. And this was Derry's first act of rebellion against James.

The suddenness of the proceeding secured its success. The grave citizens and the authorities who disapproved had not time to resist. The people mustered in the market place, and there came mayor, sheriffs and officers, and even their bishop, all to urge upon the humbler men of Derry to forego their resistance, and open the gates. The bishop preached to them of the danger of resisting, and of its† unwarrantable disloyalty, but magisterial influence and episcopal authority no longer weighed with the resolved populace of Derry; the gates remained closed, the men were obstinate against peace-preaching.

The Antrim men at the gates claimed to be admitted, but the threat of a discharge of cannon into their unarmed ranks compelled them speedily to retire, and to consult their own safety by getting beyond the reach of the guns upon the walls of the

* Mackenzie, page 5. † Mackenzie.

closed city. Thus did the energy and warlike spirit of a few young men lay the foundation of that northern resistance to James, which ultimately led to such serious results. That 7th of December, 1688, opened with all the agitation appertaining to a weighty matter, where men will differ as to the expediency of the course to be taken ; the prompt action of a few youths decided the great bulk of those who hesitated, and night closed round the little town of Derry, with its gates locked and sentinelled, citizen soldiers on its bastions, and resolute resistance in the breasts of its inhabitants. It was a night of watchfulness and action; messengers were despatched into all parts of the country around the town, apprising men of similar opinions of the course they had taken, and calling for aid everywhere. Next day they broke open the magazine, which, in addition to a thousand stand of old arms,* contained the new arms meant for the Antrim regiment. They took away 150 muskets, with the necessary ammunition, powder, ball, and matches, and then proceeded to expel the few Catholic inhabitants of their town, and a convent of Dominican friars; and on getting a report of the Prince of Orange's success in England, they expressed their joy by a discharge of cannon. Some of the Antrim regiment still lingered on the other side of the Foyle, but the drilling of the Derry men with arms in their hands and the roar of cannon on their walls, suggested to them the propriety of a quick retreat, as they possessed no weapons of war suitable for a struggle with the armed garrison.

* Mackenzie.

The retreating Jacobites met their colonel, Lord Antrim, at some little distance from Derry, whither he was proceeding, accompanied by Colonel Philips, who seems to have dexterously concealed from Antrim his real sentiments, for that nobleman selected him as messenger into Derry to seek admission for his troops; and when Philips arrived there, he induced the authorities to put on the semblance of constraining* him to remain with them, and sent back word to Antrim, advising him against proceeding to Derry. Antrim took the advice, and went to Coleraine to rally and gather his men into military order.

In Derry all was bustle. Colonel Philips was made governor, and Mr. Cairnes, an earnest Williamite, was sent over into England to seek for assistance there. All the citizens, able to bear arms, were enrolled and embodied, making six companies of foot; while companies of horse and foot arrived daily out of the surrounding districts, mostly led by gentry of the neighbourhood resolved to side with Derry in the coming struggle. To gain time, and polish over the roughness of their disobedience, they wrote to Lord Mountjoy, seeking his influence with the Lord Tyrconnel in mitigation of their offence, and in so doing displayed a want of confidence in their own strength, and a want of sincerity in the mode of doing it, not creditable to men engaged in what they conceived to be a great and a true cause. The want of confidence arose from the necessities of their position, and the want of sincerity was

* Mackenzie.

an error peculiar to the times and manners of the period; it was the vice of greater men than the citizens of Derry, and is to be found in the actions of the viceroy himself and others of the aristocracy of the day. It is one of the vices of servitude and oppression, and is peculiar to countries suffering, or who have suffered, under arbitrary power: there, truth, law, or justice are not sure safeguards, and lying and duplicity are the weapons with which slaves resist and great men oppress and plunder, until the vice sinks into, and becomes as it were a part of man's nature. Thus the authorities of Derry used one language to describe their resistance when writing into England, and another when writing for the eyes of Tyrconnel,* who having learned how Derry had closed its gates against Antrim's regiment, ordered

* This want of candour will be best understood from a few passages selected from two documents put forward at that time by the men of Derry, each being for different parties. Thus the letter to Mountjoy was intended for Tyrconnel and his government, and the letter into England for the Williamite party there; both these were issued at the one time, and are to be found in full in the appendix to "Mackenzie's Siege of Derry."

First—"The last post carried up to his Excellency the news of what our *rabble* have done in the town, how they had shut the gates against some of the Earl of Antrim's regiment, which we then blamed them for, though we could not restrain them."—*Derry Letter to Lord Mountjoy.*

Second—"Whilst the younger and more inconsiderate were consulting their own safety (and it seems had resolved on the means), a part of the Earl of Antrim's regiment (newly levied, and all composed of highlanders and Ulster Papists) came to the river side, and their officers came over into the city to the sheriffs for quarters and lodgings for them. We confess our fears on the occasion became more pungent, but we still remained *silent*, except our prayers and devotions. But just as the soldiers were

Lord Mountjoy and Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, with six companies of soldiers, to march to Derry and teach it obedience. When Mountjoy arrived at Omagh, twenty-six miles from Derry, he there halted, and sent to the closed city, requiring that commissioners would be appointed to treat with him; who were accordingly sent, but being unable to obtain the terms they were instructed to seek for, returned to Derry without effecting any definite treaty. His lordship personally went to Derry, and there effected for his sovereign, James II., the strangest treaty ever made with disobedient subjects under the like circumstances. The treaty bears date the 21st December, 1688, and sets out as being articles of agreement between Lord Viscount Mountjoy, Master of the Ordnance, and one of his Majesty's Privy Council, on the one part, and the mayor and citizens of Derry, and their adherents, of the other part; and provides—First. That within fifteen days Lord Mountjoy shall obtain pardon for everything done at Derry—for all its inhabitants, all its abettors and aiders throughout the North, and for all crimes, or imputed crimes, save murder. Second. That only two companies of soldiers,* namely, those of Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy and Captain

approaching our gates, the *youthhood,* by a strange impulse, ran in one body and shut the gates, and put themselves in the best posture of defence they could. We blamed, but could *not guide or persuade them* to any less resolution that night."—*Derry Letter to the Society at London.*

How different the phraseology of these two documents; in the letter for Dublin Castle they are described as a rabble no restraint could stop, while in the letter for England they are described tenderly as "youthhood not to be persuaded."

* "And that they be all Protestants."—*Walker's Derry.*

William Steevens, be permitted within the walls until the pardon be obtained, and that all parties of soldiers admitted after that event and until the first of March next, should consist of one-half Protestants at the least. Third. That until the pardon be obtained, the city should keep its own guards and watches; that no strangers be allowed within its walls, unless permitted by Colonel Lundy and the Sheriffs. Fourth. That if, before the 1st of March, Mountjoy's companies were removed, the city should then be allowed to mount its own guards and watches. Fifth. That the Derry men should be free to go where they list, with their families, and any detained ships be released. Sixth. That until the 26th of March next, no soldier of Antrim's regiment should be quartered in Derry or its suburbs. Seventh. Provides pardon for the officers of revenue and all other officers abetting Derry. Eighth. That Lord Mountjoy's sons should be hostages. Ninth. That the two companies aforesaid be admitted to the city. Tenth. That all arms taken out of the stores be returned thereto. And it concluded with the remarkable declaration:— "The inhabitants of said city, nowise doubting or mistrusting that since their undertaking and late actions took their rise from self-preservation, and to avoid eminent danger, they shall be absolved before God and the world from all tincture of rebellion, perverseness, and wilful disobedience to the King's authority and the established laws of the land."*

This remarkable treaty does credit to the spirit of Derry, but it clearly implies upon the part of Mount-

* Vide Mackenzie, page 50.

joy a gross dereliction of duty to King James, under whom he held commission as a Master of Ordnance and a Privy Councillor, for he was not driven by straitened circumstances to make it, and he knew that at that hour most of the guns of Derry were unmounted, and but two barrels of gunpowder in their stores. Subsequently, he sent to Strabane, to have the remaining companies of his regiment, who were half Papists, remain there and in the neighbourhood, until they were made more Protestant; and we find him described by the contemporary historians,* as regulating the refitting of arms, the mounting of Derry's guns, and the raising subscriptions, and sending into Scotland to purchase ammunition, whence forty barrels of gunpowder were procured, and a small bark, which was understood to be wind-bound on the coast of Down, on the way from Dublin, with thirty barrels of powder for Lord Antrim's men, was seized, and the powder brought into Derry. Tyrconnel learning these proceedings at Derry, but dissimulating his suspicions of Mountjoy, sent for him to come up to Dublin for the purpose of making arrangements for applying to King James to have Ireland surrendered to the Williamite party. Mountjoy, unconscious that his conduct was appreciated by the Lord Deputy, went to Dublin, and arranged on the 10th of January, 1689, to go over to France to King James, to obtain his leave for the surrender of Ireland. Tyrconnel gave Mountjoy to understand that until his return no new levies should be made, no arms given out, or new commissions signed; that the soldiers should be

* Mackenzie, page 8.

kept in their present quarters, and no new regiments sent into the North; that no acts of noblemen or others, before that 10th day of January, should be questioned; and that no private houses should be used for garrisons or soldiers' quarters. Mountjoy was playing a wily part, but he had a deeper and a wilier spirit to deal with in Tyrconnel, who saw through his motives and his acts, while he himself was impenetrable to Mountjoy, who readily fell into his snare; and how readily he was duped may be gathered from his own letter to Derry, wherein he tells them:—"As soon as I saw my Lord Deputy, he told me he intended to send me to the King, joyntly with the Lord Chief Baron, to lay before him the state of the kingdom, and to tell him, if he pleased, he would ruine it for him, and make it a heap of rubbish, but it was impossible to preserve it and make it of use to him, and therefore to desire his leave to treat for it."* Mountjoy and Baron Rice accordingly departed for France, but the latter† was commissioned with a private message to James's ear, assuring him of Tyrconnel's resolve to hold out to the last, and that he had sent Mountjoy out of the way, considering it necessary to secure him as a dangerous enemy. Mountjoy, accordingly, became an inmate of the Bastile, and

* Mackenzie.

† "My Lord Lieutenant, therefore, directed Mr. Baron Rice (in whom he had an entire trust and confidence) to give a quite different account to the King; assuring his Majesty of his utmost endeavours to support his interest, and that my Lord Mountjoy being a dangerous man, he thought this contrivance necessary to put him in his Majesty's power, and delude the enemy with an expectation of what he was resolved never to consent to, and hoped, by his Majesty's assistance, to be able to prevent being

lay there until the close of the war in Ireland. Having removed Lord Mountjoy out of Ireland, the Lord Deputy issued orders to Lundy that Mountjoy's regiment should come up to Dublin; but the men of Derry foiled him in this, for they received the four out companies into their city, and then removed the Catholic soldiers out of their ranks. He next issued a proclamation forbidding the northerns to assemble in troops or companies, but his proclamation was unheeded, the mustering and arming of local corps went on. The North was in rebellion, and was girding itself for the fight.

ever forced to. And accordingly this lord's backe being turned, he began by degrees to pull of the maske; he caused all the Protestants in Dublin to surrender their armes, because they made a manifest shew of disaffection to the King; he began to augment the standing forces, and with as much prudence as dexterity, soon put the kingdom in a tolerable condition of defence."—*James's Life*, vol. ii. page 320.

ERRATUM.

Page 46, line 2, *for* join *read* receive.

CHAPTER II.

JAMES II. IN IRELAND.

Louis the XIV., in accordance with his promises to James, and as arranged in the secret correspondence set on foot by Tyrconnel, made the necessary dispositions at Brest, for the conveyance of the king and the French staff who were to accompany him into Ireland. In February, 1689, James went to Brest, and there found a squadron* of thirty men-of-war, under the command of M. de Gabaret, ready to carry him to Ireland. The vessel conveying James met with the ill omen of an accident when sailing out of port, for which she was obliged to put back and refit—a circumstance which somewhat retarded his arrival in Ireland, in which kingdom he landed at the port of Kinsale, upon the 12th March (O. S.) Amongst those who came to aid him were his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, and six French general officers, Lieutenant-Generals M. de Rosen and M. de Momont, Major-Generals M. de Pusignan and Lery, Adjutant-Generals Boisselau and L. Estrade Guidon, the latter Quarter-Master-General of Cavalry.†

* Berwick's Memoirs, page 43, vol. i.

† The following list is given by King:—

"*A List of all the Men of Note that came with King James out of France, or that followed him after, as far as could be collected.*

"The Duke of Berwick, Mr. Fitz-James, *Grand Prior*, Duke Powis, Count D'Avaux, Ambassador from France, Earl of Dover,

James remained at Kinsale until the arms, money, and ammunition he brought with him were put on shore, and from thence entered Cork on the 14th, where he remained until the 20th, and entered Dublin upon the 24th. His entrance into Ireland,

Lord Henry Howard, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Drummond, Marquis D'Estrades, Earl Melfort, Lord Seaforth, Bishop of Chester (who died here, and is buried in Christ's Church), Gourdon, Bishop of Galway, Hamilton, Dean of Glasgow, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir John Sparrow, Colonel Porter, Mr. Pedle, Monsieur Pontee, *Engineer*, Captain Stafford, Captain Trevanyon, *Sea Captain*, Sir Roger Strickland, *ditto*, Captain Arundel, *ditto*, Collonel Sarsfield, Coll. Anthony Hamilton, Coll. John Hamilton, Coll. Symon Lutterell, Coll. Henry Lutterell, Coll. Ramsey (killed at Derry), Lord Abercorne, Coll. Dorrington, Major Thomas Arthur, Lord Dungan, Captain Mac Donnel, *Sea Captain*, Sir William Jennings, Coll. Sotherland, Sir Hen. Bond, *Receiver General*, Mr. Collins, *Com. of the Reven.*, Coll. Clifford, Coll. Parker, Marshal de Rosene, Lieutenant General Mamve (killed at Derry), Lieut. General Pusignan (killed there also), Major General Leary, Lord Trendraught, Lord Buchan, Major John Gourdon, Lieut. Coll. John Skelton, Major John Ennis, Major William Douglas, Lieut. Coll. Hungate, Major William Connock, Sir Charles Carney, Lieut. Coll. Alex. Mackenzy, Major James Fountaine, Major Teigh Regan, Lieut. Coll. Edward Scott, Major Robert Frayne, Major Symon O'Hogherne, Lieut. Coll. Bynns, Coll. James Purcel, Lieut. Coll. George Traps, Major Robert Ingram, Major Edmond Pendergast, Major John Gifford, Lord Hunsdon, Coll., Lieut. Coll. Francis Leonard, Coll. Alexander Cannon (went for Scotland), Major Edmond Bourk, Major James Dempsy, Major Frederick Cunningham, Coll. Robert Fielding, Major Richard Hillersden, Major Boepry, Monsieur Boisleau (made Governour of Cork), his brother, St. Martin (Commissary of the Artillery, killed at Cromp Castle), Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker.

"*Chaplains, viz.*,

"Father Nich. Dunbar, Father Dan. Mac Ayliffe, Anthony MacGwyre, Nicholas Trapps, John Madden, Austin Mathews, Laurence Moore, Father Edmond Reyly, John de Gravell, John

and his progress from the great southern city to the metropolis, was a grand* triumphal march, amid the enthusiastic demonstrations of a warm-hearted people, who pitied him for his misfortunes, who loved him because they believed those misfortunes had

Hologhan, Father Richard Pierce, Patr. Aghy, Darby Daley, Thady Croley, Danniel Mac Carthy.

"*Chirurgeons, viz.,*

"John Brunton, Thady Regan, Jo. Baptista Monlebeck, Charles Stapleton, John James Aremore, John Cassel, Edmond Tully, Nicholas Reynard.

"*Captains.*

"William Charters, William Oliphant, Robert Charters, Peter Blare, Thomas Brown, Francis Creighton, James Buchan, Alexander Gourdon, George Lattin, Sir Alphonso Moiclo, John Baptista du Moll, John Mollins, John Wynnel, John Fortescue, Robert London, George Roberts, Thomas Scott, James FitzSimons, William Gibbons, William Delaval, Mau. Flynn, Richard Scott, Connor O'Toghil, Anthony Ryan, Rupart Napier, Terence O'Brian, Edmund Kendelan, Henry Crofton, Richard Anthony, Edmund Nugent, John Plunkett, John Dungan, Rowland Smyth, Gowen Talbot, Simon Barnwell, John Broder, John Cavenagh, Edmund Stack, Walter Hastings, Edward Widdrington, Samuel Arnold, Robert Welsh, David Rock, Charles Booth, —— Jornoe, Robert Fielding, Francis Gyles, John Barnardy, Anthony Power, John Chaple, Rowland Watson, Thomas Arundel, Robert Hacket, Sir William Wallis, Richard Burton, Cornelius Mac Mahon, Talbot Lassels, Richard Bucker, Charles Fox, Anthony Vane, Strickland Tyrwhit, John Manbank, Francis Cullange, John Lumendato, Fran. Lappanse, Bernardo Buskett, Jos. Pamnett, Captain Millio, George Coney, Chevalier Devalory, Sir Samuel Foxon, John Power, John Banner, Henry Nugent, William Macintosh, Charles O'Danniel, Arthur Dillon, Lord Brittas, Allen Bellingham, John Brown, Thomas Carleton, Robert Nugent, Captain Pagez, Captain Durass, Nicholas Kemish."—*State of the Protestants of Ireland*, page 366, 4to edition.

* "Taking leave of her (the queen) and of Louis the XIV., who furnished him with a considerable sum of money, he was

arisen from his devotion to that faith for which they had been so long sufferers too, and who avowed their readiness to fight and die for him, because in his person and cause they felt they were to do it for

wafted over in a stately French fleet into the island of Ireland, where he was received with all the demonstrations of a real and hearty welcome that could be expected from the best of subjects and the most zealous professors of the true worship; all degrees, ages, and sexes, unanimously concurring to express their unfeigned joy. The Viceroy, Tyrconnel, with a gallant troop of the nobility, met him near Cork, and conducted him with great pomp and magnificence to the capital city of Ireland."—*Macariæ Excidium*, as edited by O'Callaghan, page 32.

An authority whose prejudice is apparent, thus describes it. "At his entry, all the soldiers were placed from St. James's Gate to the Castle Gate, all along on both sides of the streets, which were purposely strewed with fresh gravel. At his first entrance into the Liberty of the city, there was a stage built, covered with tapistry, where two played on Welsh harps, and underneath a great number of fryars, with a large cross, singing, and there were about forty maids (or such as passed for maids), all in white, danced all the way before him, towards the Castle, and, as they advanced, they strewed the streets with flowers; the rich citizens, to shew their joy on this occasion, hung their balconies with tapistry, and cloth of Arras, but the poor that had balconies, and had not such costly hangings, some were content to sew together the coverings of turkey-work chairs, and hang them out, while others made use of blandle-cloth blankets for the same purpose. He was met at the limits of the freedom by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, master, wardens, and brethren of several corporations, together with the king and herald at arms, pursevants, and servants of the houshold. Here his Majesty received the sword of state (which he gave to the Earl of Tyrconnel, to carry before him through the city); and at the delivery of the keys of the city Councellor Dillon (who that morning was sworn recorder, in the room of Councellor Barnwell) made a speech to the king, setting forth the unexpressible joy of that city, to have the honour to attend

religion and country. At Dublin he was met by the authorities, clergy and nobility favourable to his cause; he entered the city on horseback, the streets

him and welcome him into their city, whereby an opportunity was put into their hands, to testifie to the world their untainted loyalty, &c.; from hence he set forwards towards the Castle, preceded by five or six coaches, with six horses each, two callashes, four or five carts, and one close waggon attended by five or six French troopers; next to these followed about two-hundred of the young fellows of the town, that went out to meet him. Now came Major Barker (the major of the royal regiment), bareheaded, giving orders for the soldiers to keep clear the middle of the streets, and stand with their musquets shouldred; then twenty-nine horsemen bareheaded, and before Mr. Fitzjames, who rid alone in one of the Earl of Tyrconnel's coaches with six horses; next to him came three officers of the guards on horseback, attended by three led horses; after these marched fifteen or sixteen officers of the army, closely followed by the five trumpets and kettle-drums of state, in their liveries; next to these advanced twenty of the gentlemen at large on horseback, who were followed by the messengers and pursevants of the houshold; after them came the herald and king-at-arms; and now came the Earl of Tyrconnel, carrying the sword of state before the king, who rid on horseback, having a George hung over his shoulder with a blue ribbon; he was attended on the left hand by the Duke of Berwick, and the Lord Granard, and on the right by the Lords Powis and Melfort, having their hats on; the king's person was closely followed by a troop of dragoons, several gentlemen and officers, two troops of horse, and many attendants, which were followed by six lords' coaches, with six horses each Now comes Judge Keating in his scarlet dress, followed by three other gentlemen's coaches empty, with six horses each, and next three coaches more, with two horses each; and last of all, the mob with loud acclamations and shouts completed the train.

"The king thus attended marched forward; the pipers of the several companies played the tune of *The King shall enjoy his own again;* and the people shouting and crying, *God save the King;* and being come in this order to the Castle, his Majesty, alight-

being lined with soldiery, hung with rich tapestry and strewn with evergreens and flowers.*

At Kinsale the king held a council† of inquiry into the condition of the country, assisted by the French ambassador, Count d'Avaux, Lord Melford, Sir Thos. Nugent, Chief Justice of Ireland, Lord Mountcashel, Lieutenant General, and others. It appeared that Lord Tyrconnel, being deprived of the services of the one-half of the small Irish army, which had been sent into England to assist the king and detained there, had resolved to muster the entire Catholic strength of the country, and for that purpose had presented commissions to all of the nobility and gentry who would undertake to raise soldiers for

ing off his horse, was met at the gate by the Host, overshadowed with a canopy bore up by four Roman bishops, accompanied with a numerous train of friars singing, and other clergy of the same persuasion; and here the titular primate, with a triple crown upon his head, representing the Pope, attended among the rest; at the sight of which representation, his Majesty, out of his zeal, and according to their Popish manner, fell down on his knees, and repeated some prayers, as is usual upon the appearance of such representatives. From hence the king was conducted into the chappel there, built by Tyrconnel, where *Te Deum* was sung for his happy arrival; then he retired to an apartment prepared in a new house built in the said castle, where he dined that day."—*See page* 267 *of an anonymous Life of James II., published by Knapton, London,* 1702.

* "The king riding on horseback, was more discernible to the people, whose loud and joyful acclamations made him some sort of recompense for the indignities he had suffered from his other subjects."—*Clarke's Life,* page 330, vol. ii.

"The people made demonstrations of extraordinary joy in all parts, having never seen a king since Henry II."—*Berwick's Memoirs,* page 44, vol. i.

† Macpherson Papers, page 176, vol. i.

their faith, king, and country; and that such had been the public enthusiasm with which he was supported, that within a month one hundred thousand men had been enrolled, the very fear of which had prevented the Prince of Orange from attempting anything in Ireland without large preparations.* But this great army, enormous for the time and the condition of the country, was one more of parade than an effective reality, and was productive of much mischief, because all who had undertaken to raise regiments and maintain them, had found it easier to provide the men than to pay or support them, and hence most of the soldiers were living on the people. The Lord Deputy, too, with a view to arming some of those regiments and to mounting his cavalry, had been disarming Protestants and seizing their horses, and the example thus set had excited Catholics to pillage Protestants, conceiving they were now to return the usage† they had once received. This had been one of the causes of increasing Protestant discontent, and had led to their formation of military troops at Bandon and in the North.

At Cork James was waited upon by the Lord Deputy, Tyrconnel, whom, in return for his zeal and fidelity, he there created a duke, and who brought him the pleasing intelligence that Hamilton had routed the partisans of William at Dromore, and was pushing them before him with every prospect of their speedy and complete defeat—for Tyrconnel had, before the

* "There was a great deal of good will in the country, but little means to execute it."—*Macpherson*, vol. i. page 171.

Clarke, page 328, vol. ii.

† Macpherson, page 177.

king's arrival, created Hamilton lieutenant-general of the northern army, and sent him with all the troops he had at hand to encounter the Williamites there. This was the well-known* Hamilton, who had been sent over into Ireland by William to induce Tyrconnel to betray the trust reposed in him by James, and to surrender Ireland. Richard Hamilton was himself a Catholic and an Irishman, and had been a colonel in one of the Irish regiments sent into England to aid James, where, having been made a prisoner, he was chosen for this work of seduction, because he was considered to possess the influence of a personal friend over Tyrconnel. Hamilton came over under promise of using all exertion to influence the Lord Deputy, and to return to England as a prisoner if he failed. It is said he advised Tyrconnel not to surrender; but it is more probable that he found Tyrconnel neither to be reasoned nor persuaded into such a measure, and was himself induced to remain in Ireland, by the offer of a high command there. His conduct in the transaction is not defensible; it was derogatory to him as a gentleman and a soldier to have broken his pledge; but if the whole affair be critically examined it will show that William was weak to rely upon the honour of a man who appeared ready to betray his former master, and to become the seducer of his representative in Ireland. Hamilton's honour was placed in that dilemma, that act as he would, it should be stained, and

* This Richard Hamilton is somehow confounded with his brother Anthony Hamilton, the author of the celebrated memoirs of the "Count de Grammont." In a recent History of England, Keightly's, the mistake is made in one of the notes.

to have solicited Hamilton to the commission of such a breach of fealty was dishonourable in William himself.

With this pleasing intelligence of Hamilton's success in the North, Tyrconnel gave James such an account of the condition of the country as to the military resources of Ireland, in every respect save the mere numerical strength of the regiments willing to rally round the sovereign, as was far from satisfactory. He showed him that although there was this great nominal army, yet such had been the difficulties of properly equipping them, that he had been able to send only two thousand five hundred men with Hamilton for the reduction of the North, all of which was in the hands of the Williamites, with the exception of Charlemont and Carrickfergus. Connaught, Leinster, and Munster were quiet, Lieutenant-General M'Carty having reduced Castle Martyr and Bandon, and the levies generally having affrighted the Williamites; but then he was miserably off for arms; for of twenty thousand stand of these, distributed to the new levies, not more than one thousand* were serviceable; while he had only eight small pieces of artillery fit to march with, no stores in the magazine, and but a meagre supply of powder and ball; besides, the officers were absent, and there was no money to pay the men. This condition of things was ill suited for contending against an invader who had such ample supplies and such resources as were then at the command of William. Tyrconnel further informed him that the Catholics of the country had no arms, while the

* Clarke, page 328, vol. ii.

Protestants had plenty, and were possessed of the best horses in the kingdom. With this sad information pressing on him, James proceeded to Dublin, and on his march to the capital encountered many disheartenings. The roads over which he had to transport his arms were equally bad as the carriages which were to convey them ; while horses were not to be had, those first got having been used to convey officers and others ; and many of them not having been paid for, the peasantry discreetly retired into the mountains, carrying their horses with them, giving the king an early intimation of how necessary money and fair dealing are in all military affairs. As he went on he discovered, too, that of the regiments said to have been armed, one half of each had muskets and the other half pikes, and remarked that in many instances the officers* were but little above the class of the soldiery themselves ; while everywhere along his road he encountered troops of those poor and resolute peasants, afterwards figuring during the war as "Rapparees,"† and whom he describes as "peasants armed with long sticks, tipped with iron on one end."

At Dublin he formed a council, consisting of Duke Tyrconnel, the French Ambassador, and the Earl of Melfort ; and the latter being instructed to report upon the condition of the magazines, ascertained their total unfitness‡ for so great an emergency

* Macpherson Papers, page 178.

† Rapparee, the name descriptive of the class, and meaning in Irish a short or half pike.

‡ This is fully displayed by a return amongst the Nairne papers, quoted in Macpherson, page 180, vol. i. and entitled, "An

and so large an army. It was evident that while Tyrconnel could muster and get in readiness the whole Irish male population of the country, he had no resources to depend on for arms or money unless France afforded them.

By the time James and his staff reached Dublin, Hamilton had applied from the North for more troops, to enable him to face the Williamites who were then entrenched at Coleraine, and in much strength. The Council quickly decided on sending the required aid, and directed it to be under the command of the Duke of Berwick and the Marquis de Pusignan. The reinforcement so ordered consisted of five regiments of foot—being those of Bellew, Gormanstown, Louth, Nugent, and Moore—the Duke of Tyrconnel's regiment of horse, and Captain Burke's troop; and another detachment commanded by Brigadier Lord Galmoy, consisting of one hundred and sixty-five horse, one hundred dragoons, and five hundred and sixty foot. This would make the entire northern Jacobite army eleven thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight foot,

Account of all the Arms, Ammunition, and other Habiliments of War remaining in the several Magazines in the Kingdom of Ireland, the 1st day of April, 1689:" "There were but 6 mortar pieces, 188 guns mounted, 79 guns not mounted, 399 barrels of powder, 196 barrels of ball, 421 bundles of matches, 878 muskets serviceable, 896 muskets unserviceable, 1152 pistols in pairs, 1029 carabines, 2 petards and covers, 7 waggons, 9 tumbrills with 1449 cannon balls, 190 tents for horse, 335 for foot, 100 pick axes, 100 shovels and the like number of spades, 5 hand screws, 200 baskets, 145 wheelbarrows, 170 hand barrows, 1398 pikes, 138 yards of caddows, that is tartan for hose, 54 yards of canvass, 12 axletrees, and 789 iron balls." Such an inventory almost foreshadows the result.

seven hundred and thirty-five horse, and seven hundred and fifty dragoons.

These troops were ordered to proceed at once to Hamilton's aid, and got directions to rendezvous at Charlemont and Dungannon. Further orders were given to prepare the things necessary for a siege at Derry—and it is a singular fact, that there was not at that time in all Ireland a single* piece of battering cannon ready mounted, and only twelve field-pieces and six mortars, three of which twelve were with Hamilton—but when they directed the necessary tools and implements for a siege to be got ready, there was found to be a great deficiency of hands, while a large proportion being Protestants, they worked slowly and reluctantly.

Meantime arrangements were made for summoning an Irish parliament. Tyrconnel undertook to visit Leinster and part of Munster for the purpose of inspecting the troops, while James himself, accompanied by Monsieur Rosen, and other French officers, went towards Armagh, to encourage the northern army, and look after matters there. But before doing so, conscious of his utter inability to maintain such an army as Tyrconnel had enrolled, and as was certainly necessary for the serious struggle about to be begun, he resolved to reduce them within more economical dimensions, and to a number suited to the quantity of arms he had in store.

Accordingly, this immense Irish army, with which he might have swept the land before him, even though three-fourths of them were but armed with the

* Macpherson Papers, page 180.

rapparee short pike, which James described as "long sticks tipped with iron," was disbanded and broken. But the men, whose hearts had been bent upon sharing in the fight, took their own measures and their own position, and became those irregular troops of the country, well-remembered in history and tradition as the "Wild Rapparees." They harassed many a Williamite march, plundered many a Williamite camp and store—cutting off videttes and outposts—slaughtering stragglers—and using their skeins and rapparees, sometimes in fair and gallant fight, sometimes staining them with cold and brutal crime. James lost them as regular forces, but he did not relieve the country from their burden, for they quartered themselves upon friends and enemies, and made a terrible name.

The army now reserved out of the new levies* consisted of seven regiments of horse, seven of dragoons, and thirty-five regiments of foot.

Of the horse regiments, one had nine troops, three had eight, and three more had six troops each ; of the regiments of dragoons, three consisted of twelve troops each, and four of ten troops each ; while of the infantry, thirty-four regiments had thirteen companies each, and each company consisted of sixty-two men; while the other regiment, being guards, consisted of two battalions.

Reduced as this army had been from its original numbers, it was still ill-armed and ill-dressed ; the clothing as well as pay being supplied in many instances by the officers or noblemen to whom the

* Macpherson.

regiments belonged; and when James was in the North he was pained to see the regiment of Cavanagh half-armed with pikes; and of the muskets which the other half carried as arms, not above a hundred were serviceable.

CHAPTER III.

JAMES'S ARMY IN THE NORTH.

THE few months which intervened between the closing of Derry's gates, and the sitting down of the Jacobite army before its walls, were devoted by the men of Derry to active preparations for the coming struggle. Self-equipped Williamite soldiers poured daily into its streets. All its fit men were organized into companies and regiments, and drilled into the use of arms and the duties of soldiers. Its guns* were mounted, and placed upon its bastions and its platforms. Its provisions were secured into public stores, and, as far as their means and ability permitted, every precaution was taken suitable to a resolute defence. And while these things were doing, Captain Hamilton came from England, bringing with him good and serviceable arms for two thousand men, and four hundred and eighty barrels of powder. But amid all these resources, Derry had many discouragements. A large party within its walls were anxious for peace, and sought for reconciliation; while its governor, Lundy, either from over-cautiousness, or want of confidence† in his men and resources, a dread of the power which he believed was to have been brought

* The Rev. G. Walker says, twenty guns, but the Duke of Berwick says thirty were the number on Derry's walls.

† "I was much gratified to find my original suspicions of the truth completely confirmed by the evidence I subsequently gained

against him, or from the absolute treachery with which he is still charged, embarrassed their councils, and obstructed their and their allies' actions, until he was obliged to fly the city and the country where suspicion was lighting into an anger which encountered him wherever he went. For whether Lundy doubted the Williamite strength and resources, and feared James's army, or was really the traitor he has been described, it is certain he had a large party of influential men either honestly siding with him, or duped by his representations ; but bold and determined men were opposed to him, and their triumph was as marked as their spirit was resolute and their courage great.

The spirited conduct of Derry's citizens—the courage which surrounded its defiance of the Jacobites—poured an enthusiasm into the hearts of the Northern Williamites which hurried on their enrolment into that confederacy known as the Northern Union.

In eight days from the closing of Derry's gates, the inhabitants of the little town of Enniskillen resolved to follow the bold example, and not to receive the two

in the State Paper Office, and from other official information. The real facts connected with Lundy's conduct in the North, and afterwards in London, are that he appeared before a Parliamentary Committee, where, on examination, he alleged as the cause of his want of success, that he could not get the Ulster Williamites to stand before the Irish; and, moreover, he offered to submit to a trial in Derry itself, for whatever could be alleged against him! But a committee of the principal Irish Williamites, on which was, amongst others, his reverend calumniator, and the self-assumed military governor of Derry, Walker, gave it as their opinion, that it was not expedient such a trial should take place."—*O' Callaghan's Green Book*, page 87.

companies of Newcomen's regiment, of whose intended arrival Tyrconnel had instructed them by a letter of readiness from his Secretary, Ellis, a fortnight before. Those two companies, commanded by Captains Nugent and Shurloe, advanced towards Enniskillen in a manner illustrative of the wretched discipline and want of all military knowledge which pervaded the new levies; while the half coaxing, half resisting measures of the Enniskilleners are as amusing as they were simple and primitive. The two companies having arrived at Maguire's Bridge, within eight miles of Enniskillen, the officers remained there to dine, while they permitted their men, with some car loads of arms, to march without them four miles farther on, and nearer to Enniskillen. The Enniskilleners, numbering two hundred infantry, and one hundred and fifty horse, went out to meet them—leaving a reserve of one hundred horsemen behind them in the town—and were preceded by an advance guard carrying meat and ale,* as inducements to the advancing enemies to halt and eat and come not nearer; but it does not appear that Newcomen's men partook of the good things prepared for them; for as they were unofficered, and, no doubt, ill-disciplined, and had little stomach for fighting double their own number, as well cavalry as infantry, they fled, without either eating or fighting, and spoiled their officers' dinner at Maguire's Bridge by the suddenness of their return.

* "And having consulted what was fit to be done, they sent some of their number before to persuade them by fair means to return, and brought some ale and meat from the town to treat them in case they did comply with their desire."—*Hamilton's Actions of the Enniskillen Men*, page 4.

Enniskillen had thus made its first move with success; in a manner, it had imitated Derry's rebellion, and found it too could triumph. The two towns became nuclei of Williamite gatherings, and were powerful allies for the Prince of Orange during the contentions made in the North. Indeed they aided largely during Derry's siege by diverting much of the force,* which, had they not so engaged it, would have congregated, and closed round the besiegers.

While Derry was looking after ordnance, and putting together the arms and ammunition necessary for scientific warfare and siege defence, the men of Enniskillen were forging into readiness those rougher weapons which would be serviceable in the hands of men who had neither swords nor matchlocks, but were resolved, with rough smith-aid, to procure as deadly instruments of war, when resolute hands use, and close fight makes their services available. They wrought large numbers of pikes, and beat out scythes† into a form suitable for attaching to long sticks.

* "During the whole time of that long siege the men of Enniskillen kept at least the one half of the Irish army from coming before Derry."—*Hamilton*, p. 83.

† Scythes fixed upon poles are terrible weapons. The histories of the period of the Revolution do not tell us how they were used by the Enniskilleners; but, at a later date, the unfortunate Charles Edward, grandson of James II., saw them used with fearful effect at the battle of Preston Pans, even against cavalry, by a company of Highlanders under the command of Macgregor, son of the celebrated Rob Roy. The Chevalier de Johnstone describes it in his memoir of 1745, thus briefly: "Macgregor's company did great execution with their scythes. They cut the legs of the horses in two, and their riders through the middle of their bodies."—*Vide* p. 36.

Sligo, too, upon the northern extremity of Connaught, became another rallying point for William's friends. Between these three towns a constant communication and interchange of opinions was kept up, which gave to each a large share of confidence, and made a cordon which enclosed, north-west of it, a large amount of country and friends.

But a union for a common purpose, and to use these scattered materials rightly, was evidently needed. Such a linking together of towns and of isolated masses through the rural districts suggested itself to the nobles and gentry, who were looked up to as the heads of the North, whose tenure of their estates under these acts of settlement which were now threatened to be repealed, gave them a far deeper interest in a resolute resistance to James than their humbler neighbours could possibly have. Their hatred of James and Popery, or their attachment to William and the established faith, was not a more stimulating passion than was their desire to preserve their position, estates, and income. This desire kept them almost neutral for a while, and made them hesitate at the first blush of acts of rebellion, which were the deeds of men who had no estates to lose, but who, holding fixed opinions and principles, were poor enough to be honest, sincere enough to be consistent, and brave enough to risk their all and their lives in what they conceived to be the cause of religion and liberty. But now, when shopmen and artisans had set them a bold example, and when ruin came nearer to their doors, the aristocrats gathered together, and seeing the necessity for collecting arms and mustering men, they begun to conspire. They had wealth, and

station, and influence, and were therefore of great importance to the northern confederacy; but their share of whatever honour may be deemed to belong to it falls far short of that of the yeomen, the tradesmen, and the peasantry, who first openly announced their determination to do battle with James, and promptly risked their lives upon it.

In revolutions there is only one kind of conspiracy safe—it is that which openly avows itself, openly pledges, and openly acts. It leaves no occupation or room for the spy or the informer; its risks are all in front; there can be none in its own ranks, and no enemy in its rear. Such was the conspiracy of the north. The Aristocrat and the Republican, the Protestant and the Puritan, the Episcopalian and the Independent alike blended in it; but the men who first boldly hazarded all for it belonged entirely to the democracy.

In January, 1689, the North begun its county and divisional associations; having a separate council for each county, and a council or consult for the entire union, meeting at Hillsborough. The several councils were entrusted with the appointment of the commanders and field-officers, and with authority to see after the raising of troops. This latter duty was performed through the instrumentality of those clergymen known to have "the greatest influence on the people for raising their men;"* and it is a remarkable fact, that the northern clergy were as energetic and active in organizing Williamite soldiery, as the southern clergy were in recruiting a Jacobite army.

* Mackenzie, page 11.



Troops mustered by parishes: and in many instances, if they were not led into the field by their pastors, they were certainly preached to there; and assuredly there can be no more powerful influence wielded upon a susceptible people, whether for peace or war, submission or resistance, than the energetic recommendation of the minister or the priest in whom they confide. The counties of Antrim and Down chose for leaders the Lord Mount Alexander and Mr. Sheffington; Armagh and Monaghan selected Lord Blaney; while Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone confided themselves to Colonel Lundy and Major Gustavus Hamilton.

Down and Antrim undertook to raise a regiment of horse, consisting of twelve troops, commanded by Lord Mount Alexander. Antrim raised a regiment of foot, under the command of Colonel Clotworthy Sheffington, and Down a regiment of dragoons, under the command of Colonel Sir Arthur Rawdon. Regiments of foot were also raised in Antrim by Sir William Franklin, Mr. Upton, Mr. Leslie, and Mr. Adair. In the county of Down Sir John M'Gill, Sir Robert Colville, James Hamilton, of Tillimore, and James Hamilton, of Bangor, raised each a regiment; and Captain Francis Annesley raised both horse and foot; while at Lisburn a regiment was designed for Captain Leighton, and three hundred foot were raised by Mr. Edmunston. Throughout the rest of Ulster the gentry and counties were equally active, and raised troops proportionate to their ability; and at Sligo, the key of entrance between Connaught and Ulster, Lord Kingston and the Honourable Captain Chidley Coote were at the head of volunteer troops raised there,

The men of Fermanagh had promised two regiments, but failed in raising them; but the men of Enniskillen compensated for the backwardness of their county, while one of its gentry, Sir John Hume, raised, armed, and supported one hundred horse and two hundred foot at his own expense, and placed them under the command of his son. The North had nearly two months of uninterrupted leisure to prepare for war, and her people entered upon the business with an earnestness and vigour, which soon made a large army; while almost every village and every gentleman's house was made to put on a military air and look like a garrison—especially in those parts where caution became necessary because of the proximity of Jacobite neighbours.

Thus the period between the closing of Derry's gates and the opening of the siege was spent in active preparation by the whole of the North. To raise an army fit to subdue the North, became an urgent necessity with the Lord Deputy; and he was toiling at it from day to day; having great difficulties before him arising from the want of money and arms; and a still further difficulty in the roughness of the men he was enrolling; who being mostly unacquainted with the use of arms, until Tyrconnel placed them in their hands, were not as readily mouldable into soldiers as were those Northerns who had always been familiar with their use.

Three months elapsed before French aid came to the Jacobites, or Williamite aid to the North. The French king was slow to contribute money, arms, or men, until he had full assurance of Tyrconnel's fitness for battle. And, moreover, the facilities of communi-

cation were not great between France and Ireland. The Williamite delay, where the facilities of intercourse were constant, might have been considered an unpardonable neglect of sincere allies, were it not known with what dexterous diplomacy Tyrconnel had led the Williamite party at Dublin to believe he was about to surrender Ireland to their sovereign, and led that sovereign himself to believe he but awaited a fair excuse and a fitting opportunity to hand over the kingdom to him as its king. William tampered with Tyrconnel, inducing him to betray the trust reposed in him by the sovereign whose interests he was pledged and sworn to protect; and Tyrconnel, with consummate deception, lied to William and most cleverly duped him.* They were both criminal; he who tried to seduce, and he who pretended he was seduced. It is painful to witness such mean crimes in great men, and still more painful to know that those vices are not peculiar to the men or to the time, but are vices existing to the present day, and likely to exist for long, in great rulers and great statesmen. One of the evils of Tyrconnel's position was, that it prevented him for a time from acting as openly in organizing and

* George Story, who, from his position as chaplain in the Williamite army and from his intelligence, must have heard and known the true reasons of William's delay in sending succour to Ireland, tells us in his "Impartial History," that the sending of Hamilton over to Tyrconnel was one cause of delay, the sending home of the Dutch troops and the disbanding of others was another cause, and adds, "There was also a hot report about that time at London, and indeed all over England, that King James was dead; which report was only spread abroad by his own party; and several other such little artifices were used, on purpose to make others more secure."—Page 3.

arming as was needful ; while the forces he had immediately about him were too small for any effective movement.

It was in the midst of this embarrassing condition of Tyrconnel and his resources, that Richard Hamilton was sent over to Ireland as an ambassador from William, to induce the Lord Deputy to forego all resistance. Hamilton was chosen because he was then a prisoner in England, having held command in the unfortunate Irish army which had been sent over to aid James in resisting the Dutch invasion, and who were so ill received and badly treated while there. Indeed the presence of Irishmen,* even as fellow-soldiers, would not be tolerated in England. English soldiers refused to associate with them ; English officers refused to command them ; and the fiercest prejudices

*Five Irishmen were ordered to be put into every company of the Duke of Berwick's regiment, then commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Beaumont, an *English Catholic;* but he and five of his captains refused to receive them. "They found it would give such universal discontent if they would receive the Irish among them, that it would put them out of a capacity of serving the king any more."—*Burnet's Reign of James II.,* illustrated Oxford edition of 1852, page 376.

An absurd pasquinade called "Lillibulero" is reputed to have had a large share in arousing strong prejudices against the Irish. Burnet says of it, "A foolish ballad was made at that time which had a burden said to be Irish words, "lero, lero, lilibulero," that made an impression on the army that cannot be well imagined by those who saw it not: the whole army and at last all people both in city and country were singing it perpetually."—*History of his own Times,* page 436, vol. i.

Swift, in a note to the Oxford reprint of Burnet, says, "They are not Irish words, but better than Scotch." And Dartmouth at same place writes, "There was a particular expression in it, which the king remembered he had made use of to the Earl of

were excited against them in the breasts of the English people, who gave full credence to the most absurd

Dorset, from whence it was concluded he was the author," and the editor adds, "It has been said it was written by the Marquis of Wharton."—*Vide* note, 373. And Oldmixon in his History of the Stuarts, gives an illustrative anecdote: "It was sung in the playhouse by the officers of the army between the acts; some Irish officers resenting it, Colonel Henry Wharton and forty or fifty English officers, who were there, by concert rose from their seats to vindicate their ballad;" page 758. Sterne makes such reference to it in his Tristram Shandy as indicates its being a military favourite in those days. It is worth republishing as an evidence of the state of public taste and manners at that period, and because of the importance then attributed to it. The annexed copy has been obtained from the Editor of the "Ballad Poetry of Ireland," who, at page xvi. of his introduction, considers verses 11 and 12 to have been added at a period subsequent to the Revolution.

LILLIBULERO.

1.

Ho, brother Teague, dost hear de decree?
Lillibulero bullen ala,
Dat we shall have a new deputie,
Lillibulero, bullen a la:
Lero, Lero Lillibulero, &c.

2.

Ho, by Shaint Tyburn, it is de Talbote,
Lillibulero, &c.
And he will cut the Englishman's troate,
Lillibulero, &c.

3.

Dough by my sowl, de English do prat,
Lillibulero, &c.
De law's on dare side and Christ knows what,
Lillibulero, &c.

4.

But if de dispense come from de Pope,
Lillibulero, &c.
We'll hang Magna Charta and dem in a rope,
Lillibulero, &c.

5.

For de good Talbote is made a Lord,
Lillibulero, &c.
And with brave lads is coming aboard,
Lillibulero, &c.

6.

When all in France have taken a sware,
Lillibulero, &c.
Dat day will have no Protestant heir,
Lillibulero, &c.

7.

Arrah, but why does he stay behind?
Lillibulero, &c.
Ho! by my shoul 'tis a Protestant wind,
Lillibulero, &c.

8.

But see, de Tyrconnel is now come ashore,
Lillibulero, &c.
And we shall have commissions galore,
Lillibulero, &c.

9.

And he that will not go to de mass,
Lillibulero, &c.
Shall he turn out and look like an ass,
Lillibulero, &c.

10.

How, now de heretics all go down,
Lillibulero, &c.
By C——t and Shaint Patrick the nation's our own,
Lillibulero, &c.

11.

Dare was an ould prophecy found in a bog,
Lillibulero, &c.
Ireland shall be ruled by an ass and a dog,
Lillibulero, &c.

12.

And now dis prophecy is come to pass,
Lillibulero, &c.
For Talbote's de dog and James is de ass,
Lillibulero, &c.

reports, which were industriously and artfully circulated, of the Irish having come over to massacre*

* "A most malicious rumour industriously spread abroad, that the Irish troops were in a desperate rage, killing, burning, and destroying all before them; this report began in London, on Thursday, the 13th of December, about one or two o'clock in the morning. The cry ran so furiously through the town, that in a moment all people were up and in the greatest consternation imaginable, the streets illuminated, and even the militia assembled in many places. The rumour still went that in the next quarter of the town all was filled with blood and ruin, which struck such a terror, that many women with child miscarried, and some timorous and ancient people were said to die with apprehension; and as a mark that this was not purely accidental, the same was carried, in the space of two days, all over England and Scotland too; every town had news that the next town to it was fired by the Irish, and that they must, in a few hours, expect the same fate, which struck such a consternation in many places, that people fled from their houses, secured their goods, assembled in great bodies to oppose them, and in many towns that stood upon rivers, were at the point of breaking down their bridges to stop the supposed torrent, while this handful of Irish who were thus imagined to be burning and destroying all over England at once, were disarmed and dispersed, not generally knowing where to get a meal's meat or a night's lodging, and liable themselves to be knocked on the head in every town they came to."—*Clarke's Life of James II.*, page 258, vol. ii.

The following extracts from a curious book, entitled "Old Stories Revived," 4th edition, London, 1746, throws some light on the English panic:—"Oct. 3, 1688.—It is reported that 10,000 Irish are coming into this nation to establish Popery, and that the Protestants will be massacred before a fortnight is at an end, or forced to truckle to the Church of Rome."—Page 11.

"December 13th, 1688.—The town now rings with the report of the post-boy, who alleges that three days ago he saw several Irishmen upon the roads, who robbed and cut the throats of men, women, and children. This report was raised in the dead time of the night, which alarmed the whole city, and made them all stand upon their guard, some, to heighten the fear, affirming that

Englishmen, and burn and destroy their towns and cities; the result of which was, that the unfortunate Irish soldiery were reduced to the utmost want and distress. Yet one of their officers was subsequently released from being a prisoner, and sent back to Ireland, being known to be the personal friend of the

six thousand of them were at Hyde Park corner. The four companies of the train bands, which were upon the guard, were drawn out to engage them. The cannons from White Hall, and a company of horse were planted in the way to meet them and hinder their approach to the city. At last the formidable enemy came up, and proved to be nothing else but 600, instead of 6000 poor disbanded, unarmed fellows, who had scarce a knife to cut their victuals, and were begging their way into their own country. This alarm was spread all over England at the same time."—p. 41.

Two years before Samuel Johnson published a letter to the Protestants in the English army, for which he stood in the pillory, and was whipped. Amongst other strong passages it contained the following :—

"What service can be done your country by being under the command of French and Irish Papists, and by bringing the nation under a foreign yoke? Will you help them to make forcible entry into the homes of your countrymen, under the name of quartering, directly contrary to Magna Charta, and the petition of right? * * * And therefore, be not unequally yoked with idolatrous and bloody Papists. Be valiant for the truth, and show yourselves men." Vide "Collection of Papers relating to present Juncture of Affairs." London. 1688. These extracts are given because they show the acrimony of the spirit of England in that day against Irish Catholics; and while they explain the panic, they also throw light upon the deep antipathies, the bitterness of the national feeling in England against the Irish nation. John Oldmixon, in his History of the Stuarts, page 761, tells us the invention was attributed to Schomberg, and other historians name other parties; but it clearly had its origin in the ignorance and prejudices of the whole nation, and arose as the consequence of a genuine fright upon the occasion of bringing over Irish Catholic troops.

Lord Deputy, to corrupt him to forswear his duty to King James. If Hamilton really pledged himself to the performance of so disgraceful an office, he was as dishonourable in undertaking such a mission as he was in breaking his pledge and parole. But the king and the ministers who offered him liberty upon such terms, must be regarded as participating in his guilt to an extent which did not leave them free to reproach a man with breach of faith in another direction, after having seduced him to an act of direct corruption if he performed it. A seducer cannot expect virtue in his victim ; and, moreover, their guilt is equal. It is certain that, whatever was Hamilton's mission, upon arriving in Ireland, he either at once, and of his own accord, sided with Tyrconnel ; or else he yielded to his representations, and accepted once more a command in the army of James. He was created a lieutenant-general, and led the first Jacobite army into the north ; whither Tyrconnel sent him early in March, and where, whatever be the stain which hangs upon his veracity, he proved himself an able general and a good soldier—possessed of a stout heart and a strong reliance upon his own resources, or he never would have moved direct to the North, and faced, with so small an army, an entire province almost unanimous in its organized resistance.

Hamilton had a long march* before him, and most of it directly through the country of his enemies. The Council of Union had notice of his approach, and were preparing to give him battle. Their numbers were greatly superior to those under his command,

* The distance from Drogheda to Derry is about 120 miles.

but they had no general of Hamilton's ability to form their forces and lead them to the field. The soldiery of both were raw and inexperienced, and the numerical strength of the one was counterbalanced by the leadership of the other.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE JACOBITE AND WILLIAMITE ARMIES MET IN THE NORTH.

Upon the eighth of March, 1689, Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, in compliance with the orders of Tyrconnel, departed from the town of Drogheda on his march northward to give battle to the Williamites. He had under his command an army of two thousand five hundred men,* all that Tyrconnel could spare to him, and nearly all that had arms or were in a fit condition to encounter an enemy. But if the army was raw, the general's ability and fitness for the undertaking did credit to the Lord Deputy's judgment in confiding to him so serious an affair, and placing such reliance upon his devotion and capacity.

Hamilton's destination was to meet and fight the Lord Mount Alexander, then at the head of an army of eight thousand Williamites, the advance guard of which, under Sir Arthur Rawdon, lay at Loughbrickland, about thirty-six miles North of Drogheda; while about ten miles further north lay the town

* I give the number upon the authority of Clarke's Memoir of James, vol. ii. page 327; and it is remarkable how the statements of different authorities are at variance on the subject. Macgeoghegan makes it two thousand. Story, in his Impartial History, page 4, says, "About one thousand of the standing army and nigh twice as many Rapparees in a distinct body." But the same author, in his "Continuation of the Wars," page 3, makes it "two thousand of the Irish standing army, and nigh as many Rapparees."

of Hillsborough, then the head-quarters of the Consult, or Council, who regulated the movements of the Williamites. Hamilton marched rapidly through Dundalk and Newry, and was approaching the frontier towns, where the enemy, aware of his coming, had been preparing to meet him. Rawdon having no force sufficient to meet him at Loughbrickland, abandoned that place, and with his army and the entire population, retreated to Dromore. Hamilton having entered Loughbrickland, sent Cornet Butler of Kilcop* on to reconnoitre the enemy ; who brought him word that the Williamites, mustering eight thousand men, were at Dromore Iveagh, within three miles of him. Hamilton promptly advanced to give them battle, and the two armies saw each other for the first time upon the 14th of March, just six days after Hamilton's departure from Drogheda. Ill-provided with arms or ammunition, ill-officered and untrained, the Williamite army at Dromore made a shew of resistance, and then turned and fled towards Hillsborough ; their cavalry making a feeble attempt to cover their retreat, but so ineffective that the Jacobite army scattered and slaughtered† them in a manner still

* Abbe Mac Geoghegan, page 500.

† "They retired gradually to Dromore ; here they were overtaken by the enemy ; they fled before their superior numbers and were pursued with slaughter. They gained Hillsborough, but quickly abandoned this town ; resigned the castle, and continued their flight ; they seemed entirely broken."—*Leland*, vol. iii. page 519.

"The precipitant motion of the Irish army struck such a terror into the people, who were but ill-armed, that few would stay at Hillsborough, so that they were forced to leave it to the Irish, who seized the provisions and the little ammunition laid up there, beside the papers of the Consult. Most of the forces also at Lisburn shrunk and stole away."—*Mackenzie*, page 13.

remembered in the North, where that first engagement is described as the "Break of Dromore."* Hamilton, flushed with victory, followed close upon their flight, and pursued them up to Hillsborough, whence Lord Mount Alexander, with some cavalry, was coming out as aid to Dromore. Mount Alexander sought to rally the flying masses and to await the return of Rawdon, who had gone to Lisburn for four thousand troops there; but the rapid and spirited advance of the Jacobites struck such terror into the retreating army that his efforts were unavailing, and he had to desert Hillsborough in such haste, that not only the whole provisions of the Williamite army, stored up there, but even the very papers of the Consult, fell into the hands of the victorious Hamilton. And such was the influence of this first victory, such the terror the flying army communicated to all their allies, that even the four thousand men of Lisburn shrunk from the contest and "stole away," while the bulk of the Northern army, that remained together, waited not to look back upon their enemy until they reached Coleraine, upon the extreme coast of Ulster, and about sixty miles north of Dromore. Such is ever the result of a first decisive blow, especially when the victors, though even small in number, are yet somewhat disciplined, ably generalled, and move as a compact, steady body. Ill-disciplined masses, once routed, will rarely rally before such an army, even though those masses number tenfold that of their victors.

* "This was called afterwards the Break of Dromore, a word common amongst the Irish Scots for a rout."—*Story*, page 4.

Hamilton energetically pursued the flying army through Belfast, and on to the walls of Coleraine, where they took refuge, and where he was unable to attack them, not having either the necessary artillery or ammunition, and Coleraine being then a place of some strength.

While Hamilton was routing the Northern army, and pursuing them in their rapid flight, James had landed in Ireland and was in possession of its metropolis, advising with the Lord Deputy upon measures, civil and military, for the future management of the country and the war.* Upon his arrival at the Castle, the first news which awaited him was a communication from General Hamilton, describing his rout of the Williamites at Dromore, and his pursuit of them to the banks of the River Ban and the walls of Coleraine, where their numbers and strong entrenchments deterred him from attacking them until he should have further aid.

The Council decided on sending the Duke of Berwick and the Marquis de Pusignan to support Hamilton, with a detachment of five regiments of foot,—the regiments of Bellew, Gormanstown, Louth, Nugent, and Moore,—together with the Duke of Tyrconnel's regiment of horse, and Captain Burke's troop of horse. A further detachment was also directed for the North, under the command of Brigadier Lord Galmoy, consisting of one hundred and sixty-five horse, one hundred dragoons, and five hundred and sixty foot, which forces, added to those already in the North, would make a total force of

* Clarke, vol. iii. page 330.

thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty-three men,* divisible into eleven thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight foot, seven hundred and thirty-five horse, and seven hundred and fifty dragoons. This would have been an effective army had they been properly supplied with arms, and, especially, with a full train of battering artillery, so necessary under circumstances where the great bulk of the enemy had left the field and secured themselves within fortified and garrison towns. De Pusignan, who had chief command of the troops going to Hamilton, declined to go until cannon would be mounted to accompany him, but he was given to understand he would find them at Charlemont, where, on his arrival, he found only two batards fit for service, and those two unmounted—a circumstance which goes to explain the inefficiency of their siege attempts in the North.

This want of arms, clothing, and money induced James to decline the services of the great numbers of Irishmen enrolled and ready to fight for him. These amounted to one hundred thousand men, one half of whom he directed to be disbanded because he had neither arms, clothing, food, nor money for such an army ; and if he had the means of holding them on with proper arms in their hands, the result had, no doubt, been far different.† This huge mass of fifty thousand men, let loose upon the country, became the wild mountain soldiery, whose deeds as rapparees, during the war,

* Macpherson's State Papers, vol. i. page 179.

† "The Duke of Tyrconnel, at his return from visiting the troops, acquainted his Majesty that he found amongst the infantry so many good men that he could not think of disbanding them."—*Macpherson*, page 192.

were remarkable at all times for wild daring, too often for savage outrages, and not unfrequently for gallant deeds of arms, such as indicated at once their fitness for more regular military warfare, and the loss James sustained in not being able to hold them on as regular soldiery.

Upon the eighth of April James went after his army into the North, and upon the tenth Tyrconnel left Dublin to inspect and organise the new raised regiments of Leinster and Munster, where, impressed with the importance of a large army, and trusting for its maintenance to Providence rather than finance, he overstepped James's wishes somewhat, and enrolled more soldiers than had been agreed upon, calculating that even with rough arms, and relying for clothing on their officers, and for pay and food upon their wits and hands, they were yet indispensable to enable him to face the difficulties gathering around him.

Meantime, Hamilton lay in the neighbourhood of Coleraine, awaiting the required assistance, and, occasionally, encountering sallies from its gates ; but Lundy, to whom all the leaders looked as a military man, directed that it should be evacuated so soon as it was attacked, and refused it assistance, as he could not spare any ammunition out of Derry. Subsequently, Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, an earnest Williamite, concurred in this opinion, thus supporting Lundy's judgment ; and, after some paltry fighting, it was accordingly evacuated, and allowed to fall into the hands of the Jacobites upon the arrival of reinforcements to Hamilton.

Upon the thirteenth of April, a manifesto was

issued at Derry from a general council of war,* calling, in energetic language, upon the Northerns to assemble upon the fifteenth near Claddyford to give battle to the Jacobite army, and Lundy was chosen as commander-in-chief to head the Williamites upon the occasion. The only passage over the river at that spot was a bridge.† For a week before‡ the Williamites had been at work, preparing to dispute the passage there, and for that purpose had broken down some arches of the bridge, and erected a breast-work

"*Londonderry, April* 13*th*, 1689.

* "At a general council of war, resolved unanimously that on Monday next, by ten of the clock, all officers and soldiers, horse, dragoons, and foot, and all other armed men whatsoever of our forces and friends, enlisted or not enlisted, that can and will fight for their country and religion against Popery, shall appear on the fittest ground near Cladyford, Lifford, and Long-Causey, as shall be nearest to their several respective quarters, there to draw up in battalions, to be ready to fight the enemy, and to preserve our lives and all that is dear to us from them. And all officers and soldiers of horse, foot, dragoons, and others that are armed are required to be then there, in order to the purpose aforesaid, and to bring a week's provision, at least, with them for men, and as much forage as they can for horses.

"Robert Lundy.	Jo. Barry.
William Stuart.	Hugh M'Gill.
Ja. Hamilton.	Jo. Hill.
Fran. Hamilton.	Jo. Hamilton.
Nich. Atchison.	Jo. Forward.
Hugh Momtgomery.	Kilner Brazier.
Geo. Hamilton.	Walter Dawson.
Ja. Tubman.	Pawlett Philips."

Mackenzie, p. 22.

* "There was no ford."—*Berwick*, vol. i. p. 44.

‡ Mackenzie, p. 23.

upon the end of it ; and here, in obedience to the call of their chief, they mustered by the appointed time in great force, numbering ten thousand men.* They stood upon the banks of the Finwater to defend its bridges and passes, and were so confident of success that they had burned the forage and corn on all the surrounding roads. The force with which Hamilton and the Duke of Berwick resolved to cross the river and fight this numerous but undisciplined mass, consisted of rather less than one thousand men, being three hundred and fifty foot, and six hundred horse. Upon their arrival at the water side, Hamilton so placed his infantry that their fire bore heavily upon the Williamite entrenchments upon the other side, so that the soldiers there had to retire further from the water side and desert their ditches. Hamilton promptly seizing upon the disorder thus produced, commanded his cavalry to dash into the river and to swim to the opposite† bank; the order was promptly obeyed. Headed by Berwick, six hundred horsemen plunged their spurs into their horses' sides, and rushed for the opposite bank ; the dash into the water, the soldiers' shout, the bold daring of so unexpected a manœuvre, startled and stupified the defenders upon the river's edge, who seem to have lost their presence of mind, for in that hazardous crossing of the river, not one Jacobite soldier was shot down. An officer and two men alone perished, but it was by drowning. While the cavalry performed this spirited

* *Vide* Walker, Mackenzie, Berwick, and Clarke : the latter says, there were twenty thousand men in the neighbourhood.

† *Vide* Berwick, Walker, and Mackenzie.

feat, the infantry having silenced the firing from the entrenchments, cast planks across the arches of the broken bridge, and passed over with a speed equal to that of the cavalry ; and before the Williamites could recover from their amazement, the cavalry, emerging from the water, were dashing into and breaking their ranks, while the Jacobite infantry were firing on them from behind their own entrenchments. The result was the decisive defeat of the whole Williamite forces, who, with Lundy at their head, fled to Derry. The Jacobites pursued, but although they were unable to come up with their cavalry, they killed four hundred of their infantry ; the rest passing through bogs and morasses, impassable to cavalry, escaped. The conduct of Hamilton upon this occasion was characteristic of an able general ; his decision and spirit won the battle ; while that of Lundy, who is charged with ordering a division to retreat, and he at its head, without ordering the whole army, and who appears to have neglected having a proper supply of ammunition for his men, is inexcusable. The Williamites were certainly badly generalled, if not betrayed, as some of their historians broadly assert. Had Hamilton's cavalry been spiritedly encountered as they came out of the water, they might have been defeated, for the water ran so high that their powder was all wet by the time they got to the opposite bank.* Lundy appears to have reached Derry in great trepidation, for as soon as he got in with his own troops, he closed the gates and shut out the remainder of the forces, who that night lay outside

* Mackenzie, page 24.

the town walls. Amongst those so denied entrance was the Rev. George Walker, who next day forced admission into the town, and having pressed Lundy to again take the field, the latter refused, and gave as his reason, his dissatisfaction* with the conduct of the Williamite army on the day before.

While Hamilton and Berwick were passing the river at Claddy, General Rosen had performed a similar feat in the neighbourhood of Lifford and Strabane, swimming his cavalry over and dispersing lesser forces. The Williamite army, now totally routed in the field, took refuge, principally, in Derry, and in some other walled towns. Upon the day of the defeat at Claddyford, Colonels Cunningham and Richards arrived with ships in the River Foyle, bringing two regiments to assist Derry. They wrote to apprise Lundy of their arrival, and advising him to do no more than defend the passes of Finwater until he had their regiments with him ; but he received this communication after his return from the lost field of Claddy. The confused tone of his reply† would imply rather intense apprehension of

* Walker's Account, p. 122.

† "TO COLONEL CUNNINGHAM.

"SIR,—I am come back much sooner than I expected when I went forth ; for having numbers placed on Fin-water as I went to a pass, where a few might oppose a greater number than came to the place, I found them on the run before the enemy, who pursued with great vigour, and I fear march on with their forces; so that I wish your men would march all night in good order, least they be surprised ; here they shall have all the accommodation the place will afford. In this hurry pardon me for this brevity ; the rest the bearer will inform you.

"I remain, Sir, your faithful Servant,

"*Londonderry, April* 15, 1689." "ROBERT LUNDY.

the approaching Jacobite army and inability to resist them, than downright treason. He required the two regiments to come at once (adding in a postscript that if they did not arrive by next morning, they would come too late), while he instructed Major Tiffin to say the men had better not come, as there was not enough of provision for three thousand men for ten days ; but he required the two Colonels and their officers to come to the town, and talk the matter over with their Council. Next day the officers came, and Lundy assembled for them a Council, from which most of the active men of Londonderry were omitted. The result of his explanation was that the officers concurred in the impracticability of defending Derry, with the resources then available, against an army of Jacobites consisting of twenty-five thousand men, as was then thought. Lundy declared at this Council, that he would himself quit the town.

The Council adopted a resolution,* declaring that

"If the men be not landed, let 'em land and march immediately."

"Sir,—Since the writing of this, Major Tiffin is come here, and I have given him my opinion fully, which I believe, when you hear and see the place, you will both join with me that without an immediate supply of money and provisions, this place must fall very soon into the enemy's hands. If you do not send your men here some time to-morrow, it will not be in your power to bring them at all.

"Till we discourse the matter, I remain, dear Sir, your most faithful Servant,

"Robert Lundy."

Mackenzie, p. 24.

* "Upon inquiry, it appears that there is not provision in the garrison of Londonderry for the present garrison and the two regiments on board for a week or ten days at most, and it

the place was untenable, and recommending the principal officers to withdraw, and the citizens to capitulate, after which the officers retired to their ships, and went back to England.* Meantime James had been inspecting some garrison towns in the North, and was much disappointed at the ill-condition in which he found the soldiery as to arms and war necessaries.

The Jacobites were now concentrating and moving

appearing that the place is not tenable against a well appointed army; therefore it is concluded upon and resolved, that it is not convenient for his Majesty's service, but the contrary, to land the two regiments under Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards, their command now on board in the river of Loughfoyle; that considering the present circumstance of affairs, and the likelihood the enemy will soon possess themselves of this place, it is thought most convenient that the principal officers shall privately withdraw themselves, as well for their own preservation as in hopes that the present inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, may make terms with the enemy; and that this we judge most convenient for his Majesty's service, as the present state of affairs now is."—*Walker*, page 123.

To judge the foregoing resolution fairly, it must be remembered, first, that they were nearly all military men who thus pronounced the town untenable; secondly, that they over-estimated the appointments of the army coming against Derry; and they were the most likely to do so, after the recent defeat at Claddy; thirdly, that there were great numbers of people in Derry, for, four days later, they enrolled out of it seven thousand three hundred and sixty-one soldiers, so that the numbers may have been near thirty thousand when the resolution was passed; and, finally, that in despite of all efforts afterwards made, provisions did fail and famine ensued, so that there were really urgent grounds for caution.

* "On the 13th of April, Colonel Richards and Colonel Cunningham were sent to their relief with two regiments, who came into the lough, but returned without doing anything, and were broke for their pains."—*Story*, p. 4.

in the direction of Derry, conceiving that being disheartened by the recent defeat, it would at once surrender.* James's army assembled at Johnstown, five miles from Derry. The king intending to go to Dublin with Monsieur Rosen and Lery, to look after affairs in that quarter, the chief command was left with Monsieur Momont, being senior, and Hamilton junior lieutenant-general; the Duke of Berwick and Monsieur Pusignan, major-generals; Dominick Sheldon and Lord Galmoy, brigadiers of horse; and Ramsay, brigadier of foot.

Communications were made between the Jacobite camp and the Council of Derry, touching a surrender upon honourable terms. The Council were desirous for such arrangements, but the people were opposed to it; and, therefore, the communications were made under serious difficulties. Ambassadors sent from the Council to treat with James were refused admission back into Derry upon their return, and the men even fired upon their own officers† who were suspected of a design to leave the town.

While these negociations were pending, it had been understood that the Jacobite army was not to come nearer to the town; but by a blunder on their part, James and a portion of the army came with flying colours to the strand at the south end of Derry hill, and there awaited an answer from the town. The Council issued an order that there should be no firing from the walls, but the soldiers on the bastions would

* "It was the general opinion, that in the consternation in which the enemies were, since the forcing of the passages of the river, the town would surrender without any difficulty."—*Macpherson*, vol. i. page 185.

† Mackenzie, page 27.

not understand why the Jacobite army should come so near, contrary to express arrangement. The Council order was disobeyed, and a gunner who had a ready hand and a quick eye fired upon them with so suspicious an aim, that he killed an officer at James's side—his ball falling little short of a mark, which, if hit, had at once ended the war. James and his army retired back after receiving this admonition of the impropriety of his advance, and warning of his danger. The Council became alarmed, and sent Archdeacon Hamilton and Captain White to apologise to James ; but here they got into further trouble, for Mr. Mogridge, their clerk, told publicly of their secret doings and intentions, so that the governor and themselves were threatened by the incensed soldiery.

While James had been before the walls, Captain Murray, a bold Williamite soldier, had come towards the city, in the direction of Shipkey gate, having a body of horse with him and fifteen hundred foot in his rere—aid for Derry which he brought from the direction of Culmore Fort. His approach gave confidence to the soldiery, and emboldened them* to the act of disobeying the Council and firing on James.

The Council ordered Murray to retire, but he refused, and claimed admittance. At last they consented to take him up by a rope to the walls, but he repudiated such a mode of entry, and succeeded in getting the guards to open a gate and admit him and his troops. His arrival poured a new ardour into the movement party, and embarrassed and confounded the Council.

* Mackenzie.

While the Council in their chambers were proceeding to a surrender, and unanimously signing a document to that effect, Murray and the citizens and soldiers were holding their councils in the streets and upon the walls, and counter-resolving "no surrender." Murray became the hero of the hour. He embodied and enunciated the public voice and the common sentiment; and as those identified with his opinions—and they were the most of Derry's citizens—wore white badges on their left arms, it was soon apparent that only a small minority sustained the Council. In alarm they sent for Murray, who went boldly amongst them, argued that Derry should not surrender, that if it did, he could not hold Culmore, and that the Williamite cause was lost in the North. He appealed to Lundy to take the field; rebuked him for the affair of Claddy, and his desertion of the men there, as well as for his neglect in not forwarding ammunition, and properly defending the passes at Strabane and Finwater; while he indignantly defended the army at Claddy from the imputation of cowardice cast on them by Lundy; and when the latter asked him to sign the paper for surrender, he refused and left the Council.

The Council proceeded with their arrangements for surrender, and resolved to send twenty men to James for that purpose. Murray, however, heads the soldiers and rules the town, and the Council are virtual prisoners within its walls. Yet, in the midst of all this excitement, the numbers favourable to surrender*

* I must in justice add, that though the body of those that joined with him were called the rabble, yet, they were generally men eminent for their great probity and for their courage."—*Mackenzie*, p. 30.

increase ; the wealthier and upper orders concurring with the Council, but the humbler citizens* unanimously siding with Murray. There were now two governments within the walls of Derry. Murray's followers offered him the command of the city, but he refused it, desiring to be a soldier rather than a civil ruler. They then chose Major Baker as the governor, with the Rev. George Walker† as assistant and superintendent of stores. The Council met again, and for the last time, on the 19th of April ; but Lundy kept his chamber and did not attend it, though he sent to urge the surrender of the city. They selected the twenty men who were to be the bearers of the message to James ; but when these were ready to depart for the Jacobite camp, they were driven back by Murray's party, who threatened to treat them as traitors if they dared to leave the city.

The Council, seeing they were powerless before Murray and his resolute adherents, did not venture to meet again. Lundy put on a disguise, and habited as a labourer with a bundle on his back, and aided by a soldier whom he had bribed, stole out of the city during the following night. That day, Lord Strabane came to the walls and sought to treat with Murray, but in vain; Murray was for war; the man for treaties had fled.

The history of Derry's struggle with the Council who sought to treat with the Jacobite army, is almost as remarkable as its siege.

* Mackenzie, p. 30.

† There is an unimportant dispute as to whether Walker was a joint-governor in all matters, or only for the stores.

When Mountjoy made Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy governor of Derry, and subsequently when the Northern Protestant Union offered him the command of their entire forces, it is evident they must have had the fullest reliance on his integrity, courage, and ability; but it is equally evident, from a careful perusal of all the memoirs of this period, that his conduct displayed a vacillation of purpose, and a want of energy and spirit, which unfitted him for such a leadership. He may have doubted the fitness of the Northerns for resistance to the army sent against them from Dublin by Tyrconnel, when he saw the results of the field of Dromore and battle of Claddyford; but even after making all careful allowance for the disheartening effects of these two defeats, his caution, his timidity to resist, his anxiety to treat, while thousands of men, with arms in their hands, were ready to die at his command, and England's strength was coming to his aid, implies a weakness allied to cowardice. It is barely possible to suppose that he miscalculated the resources around him, and overrated the strength coming against him; but the charge of treason, with which his memory still lies branded, is opposed by two circumstances of much weight: he was attainted by the Jacobite parliament, convened at Dublin, on the 7th of May, 1689* as a traitor to James; and neither James's Memoirs, nor the Macpherson or other documents since published, mention him as friendly to the interests of that sovereign.

* See his name in list furnished in Appendix to "King's State of the Protestants of Ireland"—p. 262, 4to; and in Harris's Life of William, p. 47, Appendix, folio edition.

At all events, whether Lundy were knave and traitor, weak coward, or over-cautious soldier, Murray's arrival and the spirit of the community of Derry defeated him, and in defeating him defeated James, and saved Ireland for William.

The Jacobites now resolved upon the siege of Derry. They gathered round it, first to blockade it, and when they should receive suitable cannon from Dublin, to besiege, and, as they hoped, to take it.

CHAPTER V.

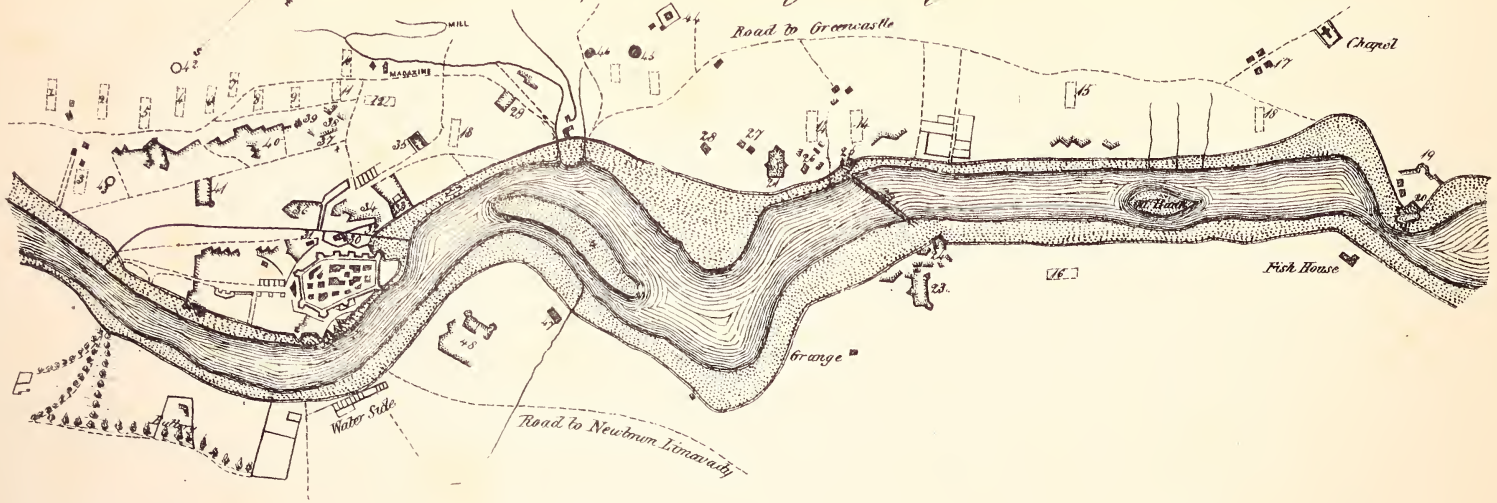
THE SIEGE OF DERRY.

Upon the 21st of April, 1689, the first Jacobite gun was discharged against the town of Derry. It was a single demi-culvern placed at a distance of one hundred and eighty feet from the town, to the N.E., and upon the opposite side of the water.

After the King and de Rosen went to Dublin, for the twofold purpose of preparing for the siege, and arranging an army to be ready to meet the one said to be preparing in England to aid the Irish Williamites, the Jacobite army were drawn closer around Derry, and were thus disposed.* Momont, Hamilton, Pusignan, and Berwick, with four hundred foot, Tyrconnel's regiment of cavalry, and Dungan's dragoons, making seven hundred horse—eleven hundred men in all—were quartered on the banks of the Foyle near Culmore Fort, which surrendered to them immediately they appeared before it. Three battalions and four squadrons remained at Johnstown; four more battalions were quartered at the same side and within two miles of Derry, under the command of Brigadier Ramsay. Brigadier Wauchop was on the other side of the river, directly opposite to the town, and had under his command two battalions, some cavalry, and some small field-pieces. Thus

* Berwick's Memoir, vol. i. p. 48.

Neville's Map of Londonderry as besieged in 1688.



1. Lord Galway's Horse,
2. Colonel Barrington,
3. Lord McCreagh,
4. Colonel Ramsey,
5. Colonel Butler,
6. Colonel O'Neil,
7. Lord Slane,
8. Lieutenant-General Hamilton,
9. Colonel Nugent,
10. Lord Gormanstown,
11. Sir M. Eustace,
12. Lieutenant-General Hamilton,
13. Colonel Cavenagh,
14. Colonel Butler,
15. Lord Clancarty,
16. Sir N. O'Neil's Dragoons,
17. Sir J. Fitzgerald,
18. Sir L. Bagwell,
19. Sod Work,
20. Culmore Fort,
21. Charles Fort,
22. Boom,
23. Fort,
24. Fort,
25. Fort,
26. Fort,
27. Fort,
28. Fort,
29. Fort,
30. Fort,
31. Fort,
32. Fort,
33. Fort,
34. Fort,
35. Fort,
36. Fort,
37. Fort,
38. Fort,
39. Fort,
40. Fort,
41. Fort,
42. Fort,
43. Fort,
44. Hamstead Hall,
45. St. Columb's Stone,
46. Well,
47. Columbkill Chapel in Ruins,
48. Fort.

W. M. Morrison. Lith. Dublin.

Derry was surrounded by a regular military cordon on the Donegal side, which, extending inward from the River Foyle at Culmore Fort, passed round the town on to the water's edge above it, while that portion of the town bounded by the Foyle was commanded by the troops and battery upon the opposite, or County Derry side, of the river. For a blockade, the line was complete as far as land could be made available ; but the approach by water was not so well guarded, because the Jacobites had no ships of war to complete the line there, and had to substitute a boom across the river at Charles's Fort, protecting the boom by forts at each side. This point constituted the weakness of the work, while for a siege they were not supplied with the necessary battering cannon. So that the circumvallation was defective either for blockade or siege purposes.

Counting the soldiery by the names of their officers, and commencing above the town, the line* was formed in this order :—

Above the town, at the north-west side of the Foyle, and nearest to it, was Sir M. Creagh, Lord Mayor of Dublin, with his regiment, the 33rd Foot ; behind him, and farther out from the Foyle, lay Lord Galmoy and his regiment of horse ; thence, in a nearly continuous semicircular line, going round the city, and approaching the river again, near Pennyburn Mill, where Colonel Cavenagh's regiment was encamped, lay the regiments of Dorrington, Butler, Ramsay, O'Neill, Lord Slane, Lieutenant-General Hamilton, Nugent, Lord Gormanstown, and Sir Maurice Eustace. Further

* *Vide* map of siege.

down, in the locality of Charles's Fort, was Colonel Beattie ; between him and Culmore Fort were Lord Clancarty, Sir L. Bagwell, and Sir J. Fitzgerald ; and at the opposite side of the Foyle were the dragoons of Sir Neill O'Neill, and higher up the troops of Wauchop.

The line was drawn with a view to a blockade, to be kept up until suitable artillery could be procured ; but the Derry men were watchful for an opportunity of measuring strength with some of the besieging force, and soon found it.

On the 21st of April, Ramsay had been ordered to send two hundred infantry to take possession of Pennyburn, about a mile from the town, in the direction of Culmore. The troops were sent under the command of Colonel Hamilton, who of necessity had to take his men round, and in view of the town, to reach his quarters. The townsmen seeing this small force temptingly within their reach resolved upon a sally. The sallying party was led by the gallant Murray, and consisted of three hundred horse and about fifteen hundred foot. Colonel Murray charged at the head of the cavalry, while Colonel Hamilton, placing his men behind ditches and in the houses of Pennyburn, sent an express for assistance in the direction of Culmore. Momont and Berwick, with about eighty horse, galloped to Hamilton's aid, and charged so fiercely that Murray's cavalry were broken, and had to take refuge in the town, to the gates of which the Jacobite cavalry pursued them, while the Williamite infantry fell behind the ditches, and poured an effective fire upon their pursuers.

Wauchop's forces, on the opposite side of the river,

witnessing the fight, brought a gun down to the strand and fired across the water at the Williamites, but without effect; and the gun was speedily silenced by a skilful shot from one of the bastions of the town, which killed the Jacobite gunner.

In this action the Williamites lost a lieutenant, a cornet, and eight men, besides several wounded, but they took a standard* and a considerably booty in horses, arms, clothing, and money, to an extent which induced many an after sally.†

The Jacobites suffered much more severely. The number killed was about the same, but every man of the detachment was either wounded himself‡ or had his horse killed or wounded; and they sustained the serious loss of their commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Momont, who fell in a personal encounter with Colonel Murray, against whose cavalry he was spiritedly impelling§ his little squadron. Major Taafe was also killed in this action; so that although it was a repulsed sally, yet the Jacobites were the losers.

* Walker says three pair of colours. Mackenzie says "one standard." The former also says they killed two hundred of the Jacobites, while Mackenzie says the number was unknown, but reputed to be two hundred. Walker also admits but five Williamites killed, while Mackenzie admits there were ten.

† "This prey did not a little quicken the appetites and animate the resolution of the soldiers in their sallies afterwards."—*Mackenzie*, page 32.

‡ "Momont was killed, and Major Taafe, and about six or seven horse or dragoons, but there was not one amongst us that either was not wounded himself or had not his horse wounded."—*Berwick*, page 50, vol. i.

§ "He that commanded the first party led them on with great bravery."—*Mackenzie*, page 31.

After this action the detachment at Pennyburn Mill was increased to five hundred infantry, which the Williamites again attacked in great force on the morning of the 25th of April. They sallied from the city at nine o'clock in the morning, and continued fighting until seven in the evening. They drove the Jacobites from ditch to ditch and into the houses of the village; and had them nearly defeated when Ramsay came down from his quarters, and attacking the Williamite rere, forced them to retire within the walls. The number of killed in this action, on both sides, was inconsiderable; but the Jacobites lost De Pusignan,* who died of the wounds that day received.

Wauchop's men now placed some cannon and mortars at a place called Strong's Orchard, on the opposite bank of the river, with which they threw ten pound iron ball and some small bombs into the city, breaking the roofs of some houses and killing some few people, but making no effective breach or serious damage. The besieged duly returned the fire, and killed several officers and men, and two clergymen† of the Jacobite party.

* Walker describes General de Pusignan as one of the killed in the action of the 21st of April, but Berwick, his fellow-officer, narrates his death as arising from the wounds of the 25th. Walker is also inaccurate in describing the action of the 25th as occurring on the 28th. Mackenzie and Berwick agree as to its taking place on the 25th.

† Mackenzie says, "Lieutenant Fitzpatrick and Con. O'Neill, two sergeants, some soldiers, and, as was reported, two lusty friars."—Page 32. Walker sneeringly describes it: "Two friars in their habits, to the great grief of the enemy, that the blood of these holy men should be spilt by such an heretical

Sallies and consequent skirmishes were now of daily occurrence. Every movement of the Jacobites was watched, and parties of Williamites, sometimes officered, sometimes unofficered, poured out of the gates upon them.

Early in May, the Jacobites being in expectation of receiving from Dublin a supply of cannon suitable for the siege, resolved on taking one of the eminences over the town, and at a short distance from it. It was known as the Windmill, and was a suitable position for a battery, while a piece of low ground behind it was equally well adapted for an encampment. Brigadier Ramsay, on the fifth of May, in the dead of the night, stole upon the guards posted there for its protection, and beat them in; and when morning broke,

rabble, as they called the besieged."—Page 130. Walker, himself a clergyman, ought to have described it less jestingly. If those clergymen were acting in any military capacity, they earned their fate; if engaged purely on religious duties, their persons ought to have been respected; and if killed by accidental or unaimed firing, it would have been more creditable to Derry's marksmen to have made such an explanation: and it is not a little remarkable, that the writer who so described their death should have had his own death commented upon by his earthly master in an equally merciless spirit. Walker, whose gallantry and bravery as a soldier were greater than his charity as a Christian minister, was killed at the battle of the Boyne, and Wynne, in his History of Ireland, tells us, "Walker, the clergyman who had defended Derry, and who, not content with a handsome reward from his master, and a promise of future preferment, with a spirit more becoming a soldier than an ecclesiastic, had attended the battle of the Boyne, where he was shot in the belly, and died in a few minutes, a victim to his own unsatiable thirst for war. When William heard of his death, he very pertinently exclaimed: 'Fool that he was, what had he to do there?' "—Vol. iii. page 150.

the townsmen saw him and his troops in possession of it, and with a line of ditches already thrown up, extending from the bog down to the water's edge. The Williamites sallied out in great numbers, and firing upon the Jacobites, who were entrenched behind their ditches, drove them from their clay breastworks to the field ditches, and then from ditch to ditch, until the retreating movement became a flight, and Ramsay himself gallantly fell in the unsuccessful attempt to rally his scattered forces. The Williamites returned to the town by twelve o'clock, after about eight hours of hard fighting, in which—according to the Rev. George Walker, who was engaged on the occasion—they killed over six hundred men and several officers,* and succeeded in completely regaining possession of the disputed ground, which they defended so well that all the after efforts of the Jacobites to retake it were ineffectual. Wauchop, upon the death of Ramsay, headed his men, and thought to force the position, but in vain. He failed, after a loss of several officers and another hundred men. Thenceforward the townsmen so strengthened their entrenchments there, and placed such guards upon them, as to keep possession of them during the rest of the siege. The excellence of the townsmen's shooting on this occasion was displayed upon the bodies of the fallen Jacobites, a large proportion of whom were shot in the head or chest, as, defending their ditches, these parts of the body only

* "The officers killed were General Ramsay, Captains Fleming, Fox, and Barnwell, Lieutenants Welch and Kelly, and Ensigns Radel and Barnwell. The prisoners, Sir George Aylmer, Lieutenant Colonel Talbot, and Lieutenants Newcomen and Netervel." —*Walker*, page 170.

were exposed. The besieged took a large booty in arms, ammunition, colours, drums, and engineering implements, beside the plunder of the dead.* They appear to have had a comparatively small loss in the engagement; and their bravery was so conspicuous on the occasion that the Jacobites began to concentrate their forces, and made three principal camps, one at Ballougry, another at Pennyburn Mill, and the third at the Orchard, beyond the water. The latter about this time received six large cannon from Dublin, and the siege went on. Sallies were made; the besiegers skirmished up to the walls of the beleaguered town, and various encounters took place between the opposing forces during the remainder of May; notwithstanding which the Williamites permitted several parleys, and allowed surgeons and supplies of provisions to be sent to the prisoners within the town—a generous and humane indulgence, highly creditable to their party.

A desperate attempt to scale and enter the town was made on the 4th of June.

The attack was made upon the Windmill quarter of the Williamite walls, and consisted of foot and horse attacking the entrenchments from the water's edge along to the bog near the mill. The attacking party came on with a loud huzza, bearing bushes or fagots before them. They consisted of three detachments of horse, and two of foot, one of the former being led by Captain Butler, son of Lord Mountgarret, whose division was said to consist entirely of gentlemen who had sworn to top the line, or perish in the attempt. It being low water at the time, Butler's party rode along the water's edge towards the line, the other divisions

* Walker, page 132.

of horse being behind them; while one division of foot attacked the centre of the line, and the other went against that portion of it towards the bog. The Williamites received them steadily, keeping within the line of entrenchments and ditches, and standing in three lines, so that as each fired it retired to the rear to reload and permit another to advance. This steady firing proved effective all along the line of defence, save at the water's edge, where Butler's party advanced so fast in despite of it, that the Williamites there rushed forward from their trenches, and met them on the shore with their muskets, pikes, and scythes, encountering them so fiercely that few escaped. But the gallant Butler, true to his pledge, mounted the entrenchment, and was there made a prisoner. The fighting was desperate along the whole line; the Jacobite infantry rushing on so determinately, though repulsed by the steady Williamite fire, that several of them coming close up to the entrenchments, and unable to mount them, were dragged over by the hair of the head. In the neighbourhood of the bog, where the Jacobite grenadiers formed the attacking party, and behaved with great spirit, the Williamites were equally successful. Here they had the aid of the resolute women of Derry,* who busied themselves at first in carrying refreshments to their men, but, impelled by the enthusiasm of the hour, sent a shower of stones at the heads of such Jacobites as ventured close enough for that practice.

* "Our women also did good service, carrying ammunition, match bread, and drink, to our men, and assisted to very good purpose at the bog side, in beating off the grenadiers with stones, who came so close to our lines."—*Mackenzie*, page 36.

The Derrymen, noticing that few of Butler's party fell under their fire, discovered that they wore armour, and then directing their line of firing against their horses, they brought them to the ground and so mastered them. In their retreat the Jacobites carried off several of their wounded companions on their backs.* The Jacobite loss in this engagement has

* "We wondered the foot did not, according to custom, run faster, till we took notice that in their retreat they took the dead on their backs, and so preserved their own bodies from the remainder of our shot."—*Walker*, page 135. "When they retreated, they carried away, on their backs, many of their dead and mortally wounded with them (as was supposed) to shelter themselves the better from the storm of our shot."—*Mackenzie*, page 36. The difference between the two statements is, that Mackenzie only ventures as a conjecture, that the motive attributed by Walker was the true one, while he adds what Walker omitted, that the wounded were so carried off as well as the dead. It is much more probable that they were all wounded who were so carried off, and that there was an understanding amongst the soldiers to that effect, and so to save them from being made prisoners of and subjected to plunder. Besides, there are many reasons against supposing that the dead body could be or was used as armour on the back of a retreating soldier. First. It would not be a protection, as every soldier ought to know the bullet which pierced the dead body would penetrate the living one in front of it also. Secondly. A dead body is a great and embarrassing weight held on the back, and the man so encumbered could not run, but should walk; while if he were a wounded but conscious man who was so carried, he would adjust himself, and embarrass his bearer less. Thirdly. That, whatever the burden was, whether a dead or living man, it was not a protection, but, on the contrary, greatly increased the risk of the bearer, inasmuch as it retarded his flight and kept him at least twice as long as he need be, if not so loaded, within range of the enemy's fire. It is much more likely that a generous *esprit de corps*, to rescue a wounded comrade, even at hazard of life, was the true motive.

been estimated as high as four hundred men,* while the Williamites were reported to have lost but one captain and six men. These proportions do not look probable in so severe a struggle, though there must be always a great disproportion in the losses of those who attack and those who fire from behind entrenchments. And there is no doubt that, both in musket and cannon practice, the Derrymen were† superior to their antagonists.

The Jacobites were not only driven back with great loss, but they were deprived of a considerable number of gallant officers,‡ some of whom lay dead on the field, while the rest were carried prisoners into Derry. After the engagement the besiegers began to use their heavy cannon and mortars, throwing huge shells into the town, breaking down several houses and doing other serious damage, and creating such terror amongst the inhabitants, that numbers slept on and even outside the walls at night, afraid to rest in their own houses. But though the shells thrown by day did more mischief, because their course through the air was less appreciable, and they were less easily

* Walker says four hundred men. Mackenzie says, in general terms, "the enemy lost a great number of men."

† The encounters hitherto had between the besiegers clearly illustrate this. And James himself writes,—"The (his) gunners were none of the best."—*Macpherson*, page 201. Hamilton called the Derrymen "all good firemen."—*Ibid.* page 215.

‡ The Jacobite officers killed were Lieutenant-Colonel Farrell, Captain Graham, and two French Captains, Adjutant Lahey, Quarter-Master Kelly, Lieutenant Burke, and Ensigns Norris and Arthur. The prisoners were Captains Butler, Macdonnell, Macdonogh, and Watson, a French Lieutenant, and Lieutenant Eustace.

evaded than those cast at night, the latter were eventually productive of the greater danger to the besieged; for the practice of sleeping out at night, to which the fear of them gave rise, begot ill-health and disease amongst the townspeople, who soon began to suffer from fever and dysentery.

About this time the Rev. George Walker had several serious* accusations made against him by some officers and townsmen of Derry, to the effect that he embezzled the stores, was insolent, guilty of serious personal vices, and was concerned in a conspiracy to hand over the town to James in consideration of a sum of money. But the more serious affairs of the siege caused the proceedings to be abandoned then, and they do not appear to have been ever brought forward afterwards. A few days later a popular tumult† was raised in Derry against him, in consequence of his proposing to take a ransom for a Jacobite officer, and so fickle is popular favour, and so easily are the suspicions of the mass aroused against their best friends, that his chambers were outraged, and his person threatened, as though he were the vilest of traitors.‡

* Mackenzie, page 37.

† "Being informed that Mr. Walker was in the Bishop's house they pursued him, some threatening to shoot him, others to put him in gaol."—*Mackenzie,* page 38.

‡ It is a curious fact illustrative of how people are borne away by suspicions under such circumstances, that the King, whom the Derrymen believed to have corrupted Walker, has left us in his memoir the following passage, showing how little he hoped from or relied on Walker:—"What made the town in such different mind was the arrival of one Walker, a minister, who had put himself at the head of the rebels at Dungannon, and then aban-

Undoubtedly the persevering defence of Derry was largely owing to Walker, who infused into the people that religious zeal,* which makes each soldier who feels it a hero, and enabled his followers to endure those privations, sickness, and suffering, which made the struggle of its citizens remarkable, not more for their soldierly conduct and personal bravery, than for

doning of it, at the king's approach, returned to Londonderry; before his arrival, Lundy, the governor, thought the place untenable, and resolved to leave the townsmen at liberty to make such conditions as they thought best; but this fierce minister of the gospel, bing of the true Cromwellian, or Cameronian stamp, inspired them with boulder resolutions, and though Colonel Cunningham and Richards, who had brought from England two regiments, ammunition, provisions, &c., were forced to return without geting that relief into the town, nevertheless, they resolved to bid defiance to the king and their allegiance, and choosing this minister and one Baker to be colleagues in the government of the place, gave the first check to his majesty's progress."—*Vide Clarke*, vol. ii. page 334.

* During the siege there were twenty-six clergymen in the town of Derry; eighteen of those belonged to the Church of England, and the rest were non-conformists. The Cathedral church was used by each persuasion in turn during the time. The meetings for prayer and religious purposes were very constant, and there is little doubt that the continual preaching of those clergymen was a powerful aid in holding up the hopes and energies of the inhabitants, who appear to have been imbued with such religious enthusiasm, that the Rev. J. Graham writes, "According to a creditable tradition still preserved in the city, the besieged were fully assured that at the hour of twelve o'clock every night, an angel, mounted on a snow-white horse, and brandishing a sword of a bright colour, was seen to compass the city by land and water."—*Graham's Derry*, page 202. Men whose mental vision can embody and give form to the imaginings of extreme religious enthusiasm, can be made, under such circumstances, capable of an endurance of toil, and a display of physical power, constituting a heroism ensuring success.

their calm endurance of hunger and plague which so break the human spirit, and in despite of which the men of Derry held on, hoping against hope, and battling against a determined enemy outside the walls, and the disheartening influences of famine, and death, and sickness within.

Upon the 7th of June the Derrymen rejoiced to find three ships attacking Culmore ; but their joy was short-lived, as one of the three was soon disabled, and got off with difficulty, in company with the rest. Six days after, on the 13th of June, Major-General Kirke came into the lough, below Culmore, with a fleet of thirty sail. The men of Derry knew he was come to the relief of their beleaguered city, and their hearts swelled at the sight ; for scarcity of food had begun to write famine in their anxious faces, and famine's constant companions, disease and death, were devastating their miserable homes. But though relief floated upon the waters, within view of their eager eyes, it was a Tantalus draught not yet for the lips, and so long withheld that it might seem questionable, during the interval of its delay, if it was not a mirage. For forty-six days that tempting sight was destined daily to fill the eyes of the besieged, ere it reached their walls in tangible relief. And these were long days and weary nights, during which resolute and strong men saw death by fire, and sword, and plague around them, while each almost felt the fiend famine stealing between body and soul, and working for the grave.

The approach of the fleet stirred the besiegers into redoubled efforts. Their largest balls and heaviest shells were now poured almost continually upon the

town, while they gathered a large number of their out detachments down to the water's edge, lining the banks of the river on both sides in the neighbourhood of Charles's Fort, between the town and the fleet. Here they placed their cannon, and threw a heavy and massive boom* across the water. Having thus succeeded in shutting up the channel, they put themselves in readiness to contend with the first vessel that should venture to relieve the besieged. The small and diminished army of James was thus placed in a critical position, and had to look at two enemies, each in a contrary direction, while, to do so, it had to weaken the force which directly commanded the town. Attempts were now made to throw up entrenchments nearer to the town, so as to approach the walls, and mine under them, but the besieged met them with counter-lines.

The town had been, during the previous part of the siege, under the command of Governors Baker and Walker; but at this time, owing to the illness of the former, Mitchelburn took his place, and acted conjointly with the latter.

Up to this time, the armed force under their command amounted to between seven and eight thousand

* The boom is thus described by Walker (page 136):—

"Here they contrived to place a boom, joined by iron chains, and fortified by a cable of twelve inches thick twisted round it; they made this boom first of oak, but this would not float, and was soon broke by the force of the water; then they made one of fir beams, which answered their purpose better. It was fastened at one end through the arch of a bridge, at the other by a piece of timber forced into the ground, and fortified with a piece of stone work."

men.* The fleet, which was now riding at anchor in the Lough, contained over two thousand seven hundred men;† so that had there been any concert between Derry and the fleet, it would have been easy work for these two armies to have shut up between them, and in fact cut to pieces, the Jacobite army, then under the command of Conrad de Rosen, and numbering but about five thousand men, of whom a large number were disabled and sick. But there was no concert between the fleet and the town, and they lost the opportunity in which—if the townsmen had sallied upon the Jacobites, while the troops of the fleet attacked them in the rear when so engaged—their total rout and destruction had been inevitable.

The Jacobites drew their lines closer round the town, and kept up a constant fire upon it from the 20th of June to the 21st of July, but without making any adequate impression on its walls, or on the courage of its men. But they were aided by a powerful ally, who was now within the walls. Famine had begun to thin the ranks of the Williamites; and it made far deadlier havoc than the iron or shell of the besiegers. The firing upon the city ceased after the 21st of July; but the blockade continued for ten days longer. Upon the arrival of Rosen, the close siege commenced—the

* Walker, page 127.

† O'Callaghan's estimate in Notes to "Macariæ Excidium," page 321.

‡ Berwick, vol. i. page 52, says of the army outside Derry: "We had in all not more than from five to six thousand men;" and Hamilton, writing to King James, says that "When the trench was opened, they had fourteen battalions, consisting, at most, of six thousand men."—*Macpherson's Papers*, vol. i. page 215.

only measure for which the army outside Derry was in a fit position,* and which would have succeeded, in consequence of the distress within the town, had not the fleet arrived at the opportune moment, to give new heart to the citizens, who now made desperate efforts, both by signals and messengers, to communicate with the shipping, and to get the assistance of the men and the provisions, which they calculated had been sent for their relief, and now lay in those ships, which had

* At a Council of War, held on the 20th July, "the General Officers did unanimously conclude that it was impossible to take the town but by famine."

Individually they wrote their opinions thus:—

"The place cannot be taken by force with so small a number of troops and cannon as are before it.

"(Signed) CHARLES CARNEY."

"Since our army is reduced by sickness, and fatigue, and desertion, not to the number of three-thousand men fit for service, I judge that number not in a condition to force the town in a certain time.

"(Signed) JOHN WAUCHOP."

"By what I have observed since the trenches were opened, I am of opinion it will be impossible for us, in the condition we are in, to force the town this way.

"(Signed) DOM SHELDON."

"My opinion is that we cannot force the town speedily, by reason of the want of cannon.

"(Signed) THOMAS BUCHAN."

"It is my opinion that it is impossible to take the town of Derry by storm, with the little number of foot that is here, or without a considerable number of battering guns, much less to guess when it shall be taken, and I do certainly believe that unless they want provisions they will never surrender.

"(Signed) BERWICK."

And Hamilton informed the king in one of his letters, that "Rosen would neither meddle with the blockade, or raising the siege; saying, he always declared against the besieging of the town, and his advice had been slighted."—*Macpherson,* vol. i. pages 215 to 218.

anchored far out in their lough; while within the city they hungered for food, and daily opened new graves for the strong men struck down by long-continued privation, or by the pestilence whose death gripe, coward-like, is ever on the throat of the weak and famishing victims of hunger. Now it was that Derry's courage was sorely tried, and her truth severely tested, by an ordeal worse than fire—that ordeal in which man's physical wants struggle with his intellectual and his spiritual nature; when the sensual appetite for food and the necessities of worn and wasting manhood tempt the very soul to forget the greatness of its destiny, and yield to the cravings of an animal propensity which is great and powerful, because it is the preservative impulse of all living things.

Derry's food had been failing; meat and corn had nearly disappeared, and men were glad to eat of starch and tallow, and the foul grease of chandlers' lofts, and vermin from the sewers, and the flesh of dogs that had fattened on the bodies of the dead Jacobites outside their walls;* and even these revolting diets were only to be had by those who had means to purchase the unclean things which famine appreciated as luxuries.

The bulk of Derry's citizens endured these terrific privations with an unbending manhood, such as is in itself an evidence of that resolute greatness which

* Walker gives a list of prices which were paid for articles of famine diet during the last days of the siege, of which the following are some:—A dog's head, 2s. 6d.; a cat, 4s. 6d.; a rat, 1s.; a mouse, 6d.; a pound of salted hides, 1s.; a quarter of a dog fattened by eating the bodies of the slain Irish, 5s. 6d.—*Vide* page 148.

elevates men even in the eyes of their enemies, and stamps with indisputable authenticity their real devotion to, and thorough faith in, the principles or opinions for which they stand together. War and disease had been for three months diminishing* the garrison, so that of seven thousand three hundred and sixty-one effective men, mustered upon the 20th of April, there were in Derry upon the 8th of July but five thousand five hundred and twenty men, of which latter number one thousand and sixty-four perished within nineteen days, the interval from the 8th to the 27th of July.

Rosen had from the beginning of the siege despaired of taking Derry by storm. A close blockade and scarcity of food within the town were the only means which he considered could possibly succeed. Nevertheless, in the commencement of the month, he availed himself of such projectile weapons as had been sent to him from Dublin, and for days he kept up a constant fire upon the roofs of the houses and upon their open streets, throwing ball and shell continually into the town ; while he held strict watch to prevent messengers passing from the town to the ships, and showed such front to the fleet as, for some time, to deter them from venturing up with food. The town was so closely surrounded that Kirke found difficulty in conveying the slightest information to the besieged.

* "In the meantime the besieged were reduced to the last extremity; the garrison diminished near two thousand men, and the famine so great that horse flesh, cats, dogs, and even rats and mice, were sold at great prices, so that it was expected every hour that the town would submit; but it seems Providence ordered it otherwise."—*Clarke's Life of James*, vol. ii., page 307.

But bold men, who loved danger and sought after it as men pursue a pleasure, risked their lives to communicate between the besieged and the fleet, and some of them succeeded. Roche, who first conveyed the particulars of Kirke's supplies of men and provisions, then in the lough, reached the town after a circuitous journey to the opposite side of the river, from whence he swam over, and having made fruitless attempts to return to the fleet, was forced to remain in the town. His fellow-messenger was taken by the Jacobites, who ordered him to make a false report to the town, but without avail, for the Derry men disbelieved him. Messages from the fleet were twice conveyed by a little boy, who carried his letters concealed, first in a button, and then in a garter, and took back replies, once, stitched into a portion of his dress, and upon a subsequent occasion, still more singularly concealed* in his person. A townsman, named Mac Gimpsy, volunteered to swim down the river to the fleet, carrying a letter, enclosed with bullets in a bladder attached to his person, so that he could sink it if pursued, for it contained a piteous statement of their sufferings, and an urgent appeal for relief; but he failed, and next morning his carcase swinging from a gibbet announced his fate to the distressed town.

The last attempt to storm the town took place upon the 30th of June. It was made under cover of a dark night, and was headed by Colonel Skelton and the Earl of Clancarty,† and conducted with such cautious silence that the Jacobites had taken the Wil-

* Walker, page 137, who describes it *ut suppositorium.*"

† They had a prophecy among them that "a Clancarty should knock at the gate of Derry."—*Walker*, page 141.

liamite lines, and their miners had entered a cellar under one of the bastions, when the accident of a shell, fired from the camp upon the town, falling short of the wall and exploding amid the advancing troops, revealed them to the besieged, who, sallying out in numbers, under the command of Captains Noble and Dunbar, encountered them at the moment when an officer of the Jacobites, riding against their gate, had called for fire to burn it. Steadily advancing, the Williamites reserved their fire until sure of their enemy, and then opening a discharge of small arms at the same instant that the cannon of the bastions poured their larger shot in the same direction, the attacking party was forced to fly, leaving a large number of men* dead at the very gate they had won but for that ill-directed shot.

Pressed by famine, and despairing of holding out at a time when the ball of the town were all expended, and they were firing bricks from their cannon, and when the Governor found it necessary to forbid all proposals for surrender under the penalty of death, many men deserted the besieged and carried a statement of their condition to the camp of the besiegers. Relying upon the influence of their distress in breaking down their spirits, Hamilton offered them terms of surrender; and, lest those conditions should be concealed from the soldiery of the town, copies of them were thrown in over the walls, shut up in dead or powderless shells. In those terms protection was offered to all, including the men of Ennis-

* Walker says one hundred men; Mackenzie makes the number but thirty.

killen; employment in James's army was ready for the soldiery, liberty of property and religion, food and military protection for those who wished to return home, and the restitution of goods and property to such as had lost them. But the town refused to surrender or accept these conditions. Then it was that the Mareschal, Conrad de Rosen, made an attempt to force them to submission by an act of cruel and unwarrantable oppression, such as scarcely finds a parallel* in the wars of Christian or civilized nations. He sent a message into the town, requiring its surrender within two days, and declaring that, if not surrendered within that time, the Williamite inhabitants of the surrounding country should be gathered in and driven beneath the walls of Derry, there to perish of famine, unless the townsmen took pity upon them, and admitted them to a share of their food and shelter; and that, moreover, when the town was taken, he would annihilate its people, sparing neither age nor sex.† These were the alternatives, unless

* There is a passage in history which suggests itself as illustrative of a cruel siege, and yet it does not supply a parallel. At the siege of Calais, when Edward the Third sat down before it, resolved to so strictly blockade it that famine should enforce its submission; and when the town drove its useless mouths outside its gates, because it was unable to feed them, Edward generously permitted them to pass through his lines in safety, giving them food and money on their way. He dealt thus nobly with seventeen hundred Frenchmen, the number first sent out; but when a second body of five hundred more were expelled from the famine-stricken town, his patience being worn, or his temper changed, he drove them back to the walls, where, being refused admission, they perished miserably of hunger in sight of the besieged and the besiegers.

† The pith of his address to the town may be gathered from two passages:—"He will forthwith issue out his orders from

its gates were opened and submission made; but if they did submit within the prescribed time, forgiveness and protection should be their reward. The threat failed of its object. Governors Walker and Michelburne replied to Hamilton's proposals for surrender, and in their reply alluded to Rosen's intentions, declaring they expected neither favour,* mercy, nor good faith from him; upon receipt of which answer the Mareschal proceeded to enforce his resolve by issuing to the officers and soldiers under his command a peremptory order† for the arresting and

the barony of Innishowen, and the sea coasts round about as far as Charlemont, for the gathering together of their faction, whether protected or not, and cause them immediately to be brought to the walls of Londonderry, where it shall be lawful for those in the same (in case they have any pity on them) to open the gates and receive them within the city; otherwise they will be forced to see their friends and nearest relatives all starved for want of food, he having resolved not to leave any of them at home, nor anything to maintain them. They shall not, after that time, be admitted to any treaty whatever, and the army, which shall continue the siege, and will, with the assistance of God, soon reduce it, shall have orders to give no quarter, or spare either age or sex, in case it be taken by force."—*Mackenzie*, p. 42.

* There is a remarkably argumentative coolness in part of their reply:—". . So that our relations, country people, men, women, and children, must starve, though protected, with other cruel threatenings in the said paper held forth; which paper of the said Mareschal we had openly read in our families. It gave great offence to the people here, and caused many of them to believe that no articles or capitulation that should be made with us should ever be performed or kept."—*From Walker's Reply, Macpherson Papers*, vol. i. p. 206.

† This order is dated—

" *Camp before Londonderry, July* 1, 1689.

"The rebels of Londonderry, augmenting every day in their obstinacy, which can no longer be endured, I have resolved

conveying to the walls of Derry all men, women, and children presumed to belong to or to be favourably inclined towards the besieged. The prisoners so taken were to be fed until their arrival at their destination, after which they were to receive no subsistence, and to be so closely guarded that none should escape. This cruel order was issued to all the Irish commanders of the North; and Rosen, as if conscious of its enormity, and aware that James would not sanction it—for, in addition to its savage cruelty, it insolently contemned his protections, and made them of no avail as security for those who held them—wrote to James, apprising him of what he

to gather together all the rebels of this county, and to conduct them to camp, and afterwards drive them under the walls of the town, that they may starve. You are to give them no more subsistence than will be barely necessary to support them this length from the place where they shall be taken. And as I have certain information that a considerable number of the rebels of Londonderry and of this district, especially their wives and children, have retired to Belfast and the neighbouring places; and as the hardiness of their husbands deserves the severest chastisements, I write this letter to acquaint you that you are instantly to make an exact research in Belfast after such subjects as are rebellious to the will of the King, whether men, women, boys, or girls, without exception, and whether they are protected or unprotected, and to arrest them and collect them together, that they may be conducted by a detachment to this camp, and driven under the walls of Derry, where they shall be allowed to starve in sight of the rebels within the town, unless they choose to open their gates to them."—*Vide Macpherson*, vol. i. p. 205.

He issued this order to the "Commanders of his Majesty's Forces at Coleraine, Antrim, Carrickfergus, Belfast, Dungannon, Charlemont, Belturbet, and Sligo, and also to Colonel Sarsfield, commanding a flying army before Bellyshanny, Colonel Sutherland, another near Enniskillen, and the Duke of Berwick, another on the Finwater."—*Vide Mackenzie*, p. 41.

was doing, and requiring to be recalled if the King disapproved of it; but not giving the King sufficient time to avert the execution of his measures—for his letter to the King was dated the last day of June,* and his order was issued the following morning. Two days later James replied from Dublin, forbidding Rosen to adopt so harsh a measure, and directing the generals under him not to obey or execute such orders. But before his reply could reach the Jacobite camp, numbers of those miserable people had been driven around the walls and close to the gates of the besieged town. They were those living within a circuit of about ten miles from Derry; for Rosen's orders into districts beyond that distance had not time to be put in execution when the arrival of James's countermand, and other causes, combined to prevent the completion of his intentions. These miserable human beings, forced along at the sword's point of the Jacobite soldiery, consisted of both sexes and included tender youth as well as feeble old age, trembling girlhood and matrons holding infants on their bosoms, and some not yet mothers but displaying that evidence of coming maternity which claims sympathy and protection from even the roughest natures. Onward they pressed, driven forward by the soldiery in the rere, and amid such wild tumult that the Williamites on the walls, believing the rushing mass to be enemies about to force their works, levelled

* See Macpherson, where the correspondence is given in full, and where James writes, the order was given "entirely without our knowledge, and positively contrary to our inclinations."—Vol. i. p. 280.

their guns and fired amid the sufferers.* Then it was that the loud clamour and lamentations of these poor people reached their brethren in Derry, whose hearts palpitated at once with sorrow for their friends and fierce wrath against their enemies, aggravated by the discovery that their guns had been directed to the breasts of their own kindred. But the experiment failed of its anticipated effect. The men of Derry refused compliance, and the poor sufferers at their gates besought them not to comply.

The Governors now resolved to retaliate; and a gallows having been erected on the bastion facing the camp, the Jacobite prisoners within the city were ordered to prepare for death unless this mass of people were permitted to retire to their homes. The prisoners were allowed to write to Hamilton, describing their condition and threatened execution in the event of Rosen's perseverance; but a cold refusal† to

* Walker and Mackenzie both mention that the balls wounded Jacobites only, and attribute their doing so to Providence.

† The following is the correspondence, as given in Walker and Mackenzie's books:—

"My Lord,—Upon the hard dealing the protected (as well as other) Protestants have met withal, in being sent under the walls, you have so incensed the Governor and others of this garrison, that we are all condemned by a Court Martial to dye to-morrow, unless those poor people be withdrawn. We have made application to Marshal-General de Rosen; but, having received no answer, we make it our request to you (as knowing you are a person that does not delight in shedding innocent blood), that you will represent our condition to the Marshal-General. The lives of twenty persons lie at stake, and therefore require your diligence and care. We are all willing to die (with our swords in our hands) for his Majesty, but to suffer like malefactors is hard; nor can we lay our blood to the charge of the garrison, the

withdraw the Williamite prisoners was the reply. Whether Hamilton really concurred in this measure, or was compelled to appear as concurring, must now be but matter for conjecture ; but, in either case, his letter identifies him with it, and tarnishes him as a soldier and a man, while it contrasts with the better feelings of the rough Jacobite soldiery, who grieved while they obeyed, whose sight was horror-struck at what they beheld, and whose ears rang in after-days with the memories of the sad bewailings and bitter cries they then heard.* For two days and a night the Williamite prisoners were kept beneath the walls of Derry. They were then permitted to return to their homes, the experiment not having achieved any good for the besiegers, and having done some for the town; for, when the mass were retiring from the walls, the Derry men dexterously took in those fit for soldiers'

Governor and the rest having used us with all civility imaginable. We remain your most dutiful and dying friends,

"Netervill. Macdonnell.
E. Butler. Darcy, &c.
G. Aylmer.
"In the name of all the rest."

"Gentlemen,—In answer to yours, what those poor people are like to suffer, they may thank themselves for, being their own fault, which they may prevent by accepting the conditions offered to them; and if you suffer in this it cannot be helped, but shall be revenged on many thousands of these people (as well innocent as others) within or without that city. Yours,

"Ric. Hamilton."

* "The very Papist officers, who executed the thing, confest that it was the most dismal sight they had ever seen, and that the cries of the poor people seemed to be still in their ears."—*King's State of the Protestants*, page 174.

work, and in their place sent out several of their useless and sickly people. But some of these were discovered by their cadaverous aspects and wasted forms, and sent back into the city by the Jacobites, who readily detected them. The Jacobite prisoners were now removed from the bastion where their gallows had been erected, and were permitted once more to return to their prison quarters. Rosen's measures had been frustrated, either by the arrival of James's countermand, or by the hazard of risking the lives of such men as Netterville and Butler; and the date of the withdrawal of the measure would imply the latter, for it followed speedily upon their application, and almost before James's order could have reached the camp.

The remaining incidents of the siege display little of military interest. The month was spent by the besieged amid the sufferings of diminished food, and in guarding against the shell and shot which, from time to time, the besiegers fired into the town. It was varied by an occasional sally of the townsmen, when parties of the Jacobites were near enough to tempt them; but no important result awaited the efforts of either party, nor was there any engagement of consequence. Upon the 11th of July the Jacobites sounded a parley, to which the besieged listened, for they no longer saw the shipping, and feared they had gone, and left them to their fate; besides, to treat was to gain time, and there might be advantage in the long game. Commissioners were appointed at both sides, to arrange terms, who met on the 13th, but disagreed as to conditions. The Jacobites wanted the surrender of the town to be made on the 15th,

while the Williamites asked until the 25th, or ten days longer, because they had a private message from Major-General Kirke, announcing that he had landed a party of men at Inch. The Commissioners consequently separated without any final arrangement. During this time the Williamites, pressed by hunger, went out armed to seize the Jacobite cattle grazing round the town, but failed in getting them. They then had recourse to a savage experiment of bringing a solitary cow of their own outside one of the gates, and within view of the Jacobite cattle, where they tied her and set fire to her, in the expectation of her cries bringing over some of those belonging to the camp. But the expedient failed, and left them to hunger on. The Jacobite guns now no longer fired upon the town, but were brought down to the water's edge, and turned to protect the boom and resist the ships, if any should venture up. The town was still surrounded, but a deadly silence hung over it; limited food, sickness and death, and disappointed hopes of succour, all pressed heavily upon the hearts of the Williamites within that beleaguered city; and the stillness and inactivity which now supplanted fighting and active excitement, damped men's courage as the coming hand of death. The evening of the 28th of July was closing into night, when hopeless gazers from her walls heard the report of cannon in the distance, and witnessed the red flashes which, pouring out of Culmore Fort, displayed three ships attempting to pass up the Lough, and who returned the fire of the fort. Onward for the town, with spread sail and favouring wind, sailed those ships, defiant of the small and great shot which, from

fort and trench at both sides of the river, poured in upon them. Derry's people were mustered upon her walls, and, with straining eyes and hearts palpitating with joy, watched the advance of those vessels. Then, again, was felt a sudden and fearful depression of spirit, as they beheld the ships halt when they came near the boom. One of them had run aground; the sails of all hung loosely on the masts, as the wind failed and sank into a dead calm; while the Jacobites, gathering to the shore, manned their boats, and with loud huzzas prepared to board the embarrassed vessels. Instantly the cloud of smoke, poured from musket and cannon, enveloped the ships, and hid them for a moment from view; but a broadside from the foremost one released her from her difficulty; the vessel rebounded as the cannon recoiled; the boom was broken; and, as the smoke rolled away, the ships were seen riding on gallantly for the town, and the loud shouts of the Williamites on Derry's bastions announced they were saved. The Jacobites turned disheartened from the siege; all hope of taking Derry was gone; and, on the morning of the 31st of July, the Derry men looked from their walls, and saw the surrounding country free. The Jacobite camp was broken up. The Jacobites, in departing, had burned and ravaged the surrounding country; but they were gone; the siege was raised, and the pale and wasted men of Derry opened their gates, and walked out rejoicingly into the green fields of their native county.

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT THE ENNISKILLEN MEN DID.

Within the one hundred and five days that the Jacobite army lay around Derry, other events had been occurring in Ireland which need to be recorded. James had summoned a Parliament at Dublin, and invited to it the wealth and strength of the country, as far as he considered them to be favourable to his cause. The consideration of that Parliament and its acts will require special consideration elsewhere.

By a singular coincidence the Irish Williamites had achieved a second triumph on the same day on which the Jacobite army retreated from their trenches and left Derry free. That triumph had been won by the men of Enniskillen. Both those towns had begun their resistance by refusing to receive Jacobite soldiers, both had held on under the command of independent leaders; and the Jacobite army was swept from the North by the strange and fortuitous circumstance that, while the men of Derry were receiving the Williamite ships and looking out upon the Jacobite army, in full retreat from the banks of the Foyle, the Enniskilleners were in the open field, slaying and scattering a second army which had been sent to reduce them.

The men of Enniskillen, having driven back Colonel Newcomen's men in December, 1688, returned

to their water-bound residence, resolute for fight; and between that event and the battle of Newtown-Butler they were frequently engaged in skirmishes and minor fightings with detachments of the Jacobite army, or with rapparees or creaghts—their objects being either to drive the Jacobites from their neighbourhood, or to seize preys of arms, corn, or cattle. In most of those encounters they displayed an amount of energy and spirit which entitles some of them to historic remembrance.

But those who won distinction for the name of Enniskillen were not exclusively natives of that town, or even of the County Fermanagh; they were constituted of the inhabitants of the surrounding counties, who fled to it for succour, or who gathered into it with arms in their hands, resolved to make it their battle ground whenever the Jacobites approached; and of its very soldiers, Cavan alone had supplied four troops of cavalry and four companies of infantry, who fled there because ordered by Lundy to retire from places of less strength. They came to Enniskillen in large masses, in the month of March, when the Lord Galmoy, marching into that county and threatening to lay it waste, had taken prisoners Captain Dixy and some troopers, who were garrisoning the residence of the Dean of Kilmore. Upon which event the various little garrisons around were burned and deserted by their Williamite protectors, who fled without even waiting to be summoned,* or to ascertain what was the number or strength of the troops coming against them.

* Hamilton's Actions, &c., page 13.

Their flight gave confidence to Galmoy, who was indeed but ill-provided with the means of active field or siege warfare, but who was urged on by a rash and daring spirit, which had exposed him to defeat and disappointment, making his want of military skill as apparent as the want of honour and the barbarity which is recorded of him, during his command in Cavan.

From Dean Dixy's garrison, Galmoy marched to Belturbet, from whence he sent a party of soldiery to besiege the Castle of Crom, in the County of Fermanagh, and upon the banks of Lough Erne. This castle was garrisoned by Colonel Creighton and a body of Williamites, who, from its proximity to Enniskillen, looked to that town for support and relief in the event of danger. The castle was of some strength, but it had no outer works, and was commanded from high hills in its neighbourhood.

From the boggy nature of the roads approaching Crom Castle it would have been difficult for heavy ordnance to approach it; and yet such only was likely to be effective in subduing it. Galmoy thought to terrify the defenders of it by cheating them into a belief that he had such cannon for battering down their walls; and he, accordingly, approached the castle with two pieces, each drawn by eight horses ;* but his cannon was made of tin corded over, and covered with buckram coloured like metal. He had even the hardihood to fire one of those mock guns, which was burst in the discharge. The Williamites within the castle, conscious of their own powers to

* Hamilton, page 14.

resist, and trusting for further assistance to Enniskillen, refused to surrender, and accompanied their refusal by an effective and deadly fire, directed against the Jacobites ; which they were able to do, first, because they were expert marksmen, being familiar with the constant shooting of game upon the waters of Lough Erne ; and, in the next place, because they were supplied with long double-rested guns* suited for that purpose, and well adapted for firing from castellated defences.

Galmoy continued to threaten the castle, and the better to show a bold front, he sent a peremptory summons for surrender to Enniskillen ; but the Enniskillen men refused to comply, and prepared both to resist at home and to relieve Crom also, the latter of which they effected upon the 23rd of March, on which day also a large number of the Cavan men left them,† stating that Lundy had ordered them to go on to Derry. The defenders of Enniskillen resolved not to remain within their earth and water defences, and drew up their full forces on a hill outside the town resolved to give battle there to Galmoy if he approached. But Galmoy thought it better not to encounter those resolute men, and continued to besiege Crom. When night came, the Enniskillen men sent two hundred men as relief to Crom, a portion of whom marched by land, and the remainder went in boats along Lough Erne.

This relief party did not reach Crom Castle until morning exposed them to the view of the Jacobites,

* Harris's Life of William, page 215.

† "In obedience, as they said, to Colonel Lundy's order."—*Hamilton*, page 15.

who fired continuously upon the boats, but with little effect, for they were bad marksmen, and lacked the experience of hand and eye for gun practice, such as the marksmen defending the castle possessed. The relief got into the castle, and, making from thence a bold sally upon the besiegers, they drove them from behind their ditches, killed a considerable number of them, and captured their mock cannon. Galmoy retreated upon Belturbet. Here it was that he perpetrated one of those faithless acts of barbarism which stains his memory in Ireland. He applied to the commander of Crom for an exchange of prisoners, offering to give up Captain Dixy in exchange for Captain Mac Guire, then a prisoner in Crom Castle. Trusting to his honour, Mac Guire was released and sent to him to Belturbet; but Galmoy did not restore Dixy, but brought him and a Cornet Charleton to trial, upon a charge of high treason, for levying troops against the King. Those two Williamite officers were accordingly tried, found guilty, and sentenced to die. They were offered life and liberty upon the condition of changing their political and religious opinions. They refused those terms, and were hung from a sign-post in Belturbet, where their heads were placed upon the market-house, after being first used as foot-balls by a brutalized soldiery. It is painful to record such deeds of savagery, but they teach a lesson apart from that aroused by the natural detestation of such crimes—the lesson of their impolicy; because they make the enemy more resolute to resist, when he has to deal with those who are cruel and dishonourable, and they ruin all hopes of effective discipline, by demoralizing the army, reducing it from a band of

trained men to a horde of savages. In the case of Galmoy's inhuman breach of faith, Mac Guire sought to be restored a prisoner, to save Dixy, but was refused, and retired in disgust;* while the Enniskillen men, taught to feel they could not rely upon even an Earl's word, fought with the energy of men for whom there was no retreat, and retaliated with a desperate revenge.

The month of April was spent in various forays into the surrounding country, putting to flight small parties of Jacobites who were quartered in garrisoned houses around, and in seizing quantities of cattle† and provisions.

On the fourth of May, the Enniskillen men, going to the relief of Ballyshannon, encountered a body of Jacobite horse outside that town, at the village of Belleek, whom they put to flight, killing over one hundred, and taking sixty prisoners, besides two pieces of cannon, and some arms and horses. About this time an exchange of prisoners was made between the Governor of Enniskillen and Colonel Sarsfield, in which the latter sent prisoners in exchange who had been protected previous to their arrest. In the latter end of the month the Jacobite garrisons of Redhill and Ballynacarrig yielded to the Enniskillen men, whose reputation as to numbers and power achieved the surrender of those places without a blow.

Early in June, hearing sad accounts of the distress of Derry, they marched in considerable force, intending to relieve it, but stopped at Omagh, where some

* Harris, page 215.

† "They were seized in such numbers, that milch cows sold at half-a-crown a head."—*Vide Hamilton*, page 25.

Jacobite soldiers had retired within a fort ; but while laying siege to it, a report reached them that Colonel Sarsfield, with a considerable force, was besieging Ballyshannon, and that Colonel Sutherland was come with another army to Belturbet. This news distracted the movements of the Enniskillen men, who resolved, instead of moving on Derry, to abandon the siege of Omagh fort, and to return and protect Enniskillen, where their families and friends remained, and which was now threatened by those two Jacobite armies. They therefore returned home, and from thence moved in the direction of Belturbet, resolved to meet the enemy rather than to await their coming at Enniskillen. Their entire strength, under the command of Colonel Loyd, arrived by the night of the 17th of June at Maguire's-bridge, and while resting there, Sutherland received information that their whole force was coming against him. Common repute had made their numbers six times their real amount, so that Sutherland did not think it advisable to await and give them battle, for he had under his command but two regiments of foot, one of dragoons, and some troops of horse ; but he was expecting some new levies from Dublin, and had in charge arms for two regiments, besides some cannon, and a large store of provisions destined to supply the troops about to muster and lay siege to Enniskillen. He therefore marched on with the body of his troops to Monaghan, leaving behind him in the church and church-yard, they being the only defensible part of the town, about two hundred infantry and eighty dragoons, under the command of Colonel Scot, hoping they would be able to hold out until he came to their relief.

The Enniskillen men advanced steadily upon Belturbet, driving in the dragoons who came out to face them as they entered the town, and who retired upon the church-yard after discharging their pieces, which, as as was customary with ill-trained soldiers,* inflicted no injury on the advancing foe. The Enniskillen men took possession of the neighbouring houses which commanded the church-yard, and after a couple of hours' firing the Jacobites offered to treat, and submitted as prisoners on condition of their lives being saved, but surrendering their arms and clothing. The Enniskillen men thus made about three hundred prisoners, of whom they released about two hundred next morning, to escape feeding them, though they took, amongst other booty, one hundred and fifty barrels of wheat and flour, and fifty horseload of biscuit, besides eighty dragoon horses, seven hundred muskets, and the clothing† of about three hundred men. Early in July, Major-General Kirke sent them a supply of thirty barrels of powder, just when they were reduced to a store of three barrels. Subsequently they received a further supply from the same source, with a quantity of arms, and a number of experienced officers to command the regiments then enrolled and others to be raised.

But while these were arriving, and before they reached the town, the Duke of Berwick had advanced into the neighbourhood from Derry, and had retaliated

* "Firing very fast at us, but with the same success that is usual with them; for they touched not a man of ours but one."—*Hamilton*, p. 37.

† Hamilton mentions that the regular clothing was red, but the new levies wore grey cloth.

on some of those concerned in some recent plunder of cattle from the Jacobites. Berwick had formed a camp at Trellick, and while there the Williamites learned that he was about to march on Enniskillen. They immediately sent forward two companies of infantry and two troops of cavalry, under Captain M'Cormack, to defend a pass near a mill outside the town, which was so situate as to be defensible by a small force ; but the men rashly advanced beyond it,* and allowed themselves to be surprised by Berwick in a hollow between two hills, where they were routed with great slaughter and with the loss of the entire of their arms, the foot being nearly all put to the sword,† while some of the cavalry escaped to Enniskillen. Berwick returned to Trellick with his prisoners, where he made an exchange with the Enniskillen men, and from whence he was recalled by Rosen to the siege of Derry. The Enniskillen men were, during most of this time, kept in constant apprehension of an attack from the Jacobites, and were even in greater danger of it than they were aware of, for had Mountcashel's southern army and Sarsfield's Connaught forces marched upon the town while Berwick was in the neighbourhood, it could scarcely have escaped. But there was no concert between these general officers, and so it did escape, at a time when its fall would have insured the fall of Derry itself, and have won the North. But James, who

* "The place where the encounter took place is called from a castle upon it 'Cornegrade.'"—*Vide Harris*, p. 221.

† Berwick, in his memoirs, describes nearly two hundred of the Williamites as being put to the sword (see vol. i. p. 54, of his memoir), while Hamilton admits but twenty-five ; *vide* p. 41.

headed the affairs of Ireland and the war at that time, had no great or comprehensive views, and was utterly unsuited to be a generalissimo, where so many points of a map had to be considered, numerous calculations to be made, and means and resources accurately estimated. He could decide upon that which was directly before him, and not always wisely even then, but massive details, and above all to adjust those details, were beyond his capacity and the grasp of his intellect. Tyrconnel, had he been properly aided in forming the army, might have given himself to such an undertaking; but his whole time was bestowed in levying troops and seeking to arm and maintain them. Hamilton, who had capacity, was thrown away upon the hopeless siege of Derry without adequate means. Rosen, as a stranger, could know but little of the country, its leaders, or its soldiers ; and so the northern Jacobite army presented disjointed and unconnected actions, instead of a series of actions, connected and linked into one common direction for one united and common result. An able general would have promptly gathered in the scattered Jacobite armies that were spread over hundreds of miles of country, and with them have swept the land from north to south, instead of holding them broken up into unconnected masses, remote from each other, and so weakened by separation, as to be unequal to any one great undertaking. This condition of the army, an evil all over the country, was especially an evil in the North, where the bulk of the people were the King's enemies ; and, therefore, concentration of strength, and rapid movements, were the measures which would have insured,

not only victory, but a speedy success to the Jacobites.

In the latter end of July, James ordered the Lord Mountcashel to collect an army and march against the Enniskillenners, with a view to their speedy subjugation. The army so collected, and with which Mountcashel promptly went in the direction of Enniskillen, consisted of three regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and some horse—being all that could be spared by the king—who, in ordering this force to the North,* left himself at Dublin but one battalion of guards, together with Colonel Grace's regiment of foot, a couple of troops of horse, mounted, and his own troop of guards, not all mounted.

Lord Mountcashel as commander, with the celebrated Anthony Hamilton as major-general, mustered this army at Belturbet on the 27th of July, when their numbers were† three thousand six hundred men, nearly all new levies and raw recruits, but well equipped. On the 29th, he arrived before Crom Castle, and erecting a battery in front of it, he began to batter it with cannon ; but his men, excited by a seeming success, ventured beyond the entrenchments, and were shot down in considerable numbers by the skilful marksmen who fired from the castle. An express was sent from Crom to Enniskillen, asking their aid to resist this large army, and assistance was accordingly promised to be at Crom within two days ; and while arrangements were making to fulfil this promise, a further express brought word that

* Clarke's Life of James, vol ii., p. 369.
† Macpherson Papers, vol. i., p. 219.

Mountcashel was coming towards Lisnakea, but ten miles from Enniskillen. It was deemed advisable to anticipate this movement, and to send forward a detachment either to make good Lisnakea and to garrison it against Mountcashel, or to destroy it altogether, as might be deemed most advisable. This detachment, consisting of ten troops of cavalry, and three companies of foot, was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Berry, who, on arriving at Lisnakea, found the place of so little importance, as not to be worth defending or destroying. He kept his men in the field that night, and next morning, the 31st of July, he went cautiously forward towards the enemy, who lay at a distance of about six miles from that place. Berry sent forward an advance guard as a party of observation, with orders not to engage an enemy, but to observe their numbers and condition, and to fall back upon his main body, and thus to decoy them on until they had them upon some advantageous ground,* and perhaps at an hour and place in which he would have the support of Colonel Wolseley, who was to follow him with the entire of the force destined to relieve Crom. Mountcashel having heard that the Enniskilleners, to the number of four thousand men,† were advancing to the relief of Crom, deemed it advisable to raise the siege, and retire two miles further back to Newtown-Butler, intending to give battle there. From thence he sent Major-General Anthony Hamilton, with O'Brien's regiment of dragoons, to reconnoitre in the direction of Lisnakea. The advance guards of both

* Hamilton, p. 52. † Vide Macpherson, *ut supra*.

armies were now approaching each other, with each a large army in the rere. Both were ably officered ; but the Williamite troops had seen battle and been victorious, while the Jacobite soldiery were ill-trained to field movement and to gun exercise, and lacked the self-reliance which engagement in even one battle gives to the soldier. The Williamite soldiers felt confidence in themselves, and did not fear an enemy they had already beaten ; the Jacobites had no ground for such confidence, and they regarded with serious consideration, if not with dread, an enemy that had made already a character for determined bravery, which had spread beyond their own county, and had magnified their deeds and their numbers as it went.

Two miles beyond Lisnakea, at a place called Donough, the advanced guard of Colonel Berry saw the advancing Jacobites, and immediately fell back to the main body, who having ascertained that the approaching foe were more numerous than it would be discreet to meet in the open field, retreated to Lisnakea, the Jacobites advancing as they retired. Here Colonel Berry despatched a messenger to Enniskillen, to advise the advance of Colonel Wolseley to his assistance. There were two roads between Lisnakea and Enniskillen, an old road at some distance from the Lough, and a new one nearer to its banks, and which ran through such low and marshy grounds as to make it in some parts only passable with difficulty. Berry selected this road for his backward movement, hoping to decoy the Jacobites to some part of it, where he could take advantage of its boggy nature, and find a pass suitable to defend. At about

a mile from Lisnakea he arrived at a portion so situated that the passage was barely of sufficient width for two horsemen to advance abreast upon it. The length of this pass was about the distance of a musket shot, and at the far end of it there was a thicket of underwood well adapted to be used as a breastwork or entrenchment. Berry advanced in good order on to this point, and there faced round upon the Jacobites, having placed most of his men under the protection of this natural cover. Here he resolved to stand and defend that narrow road in front of him, until Wolseley could arrive to his assistance. It was an admirably chosen spot; it left him a full musket shot from his enemy, and the approach over that distance so narrow that but two men could advance in front; so that their progress to more open ground must be slow, while, as they advanced, they were exposed to the fire of a numerous enemy posted behind entrenchments, which effectually protected them from the fire of the assailants.

Berry had his men all disposed of when the Jacobites arrived at the extreme end of the pass, which now separated the two forces. Anthony* Hamilton resolved to face the difficulty, and not permit it to arrest his hot pursuit of the Williamites. Arrived

* "Anthony Hamilton, the brother of Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, is a name still figuring in the world of letters. The Hamiltons were of noble blood; their father was a younger son of the Earl of Abercorn in Scotland, and their mother was Lady Thurles, sister of James, first Duke of Ormond. Anthony was born at Roscrea about the year 1643, so that he must have been about forty-seven years of age when he lost the battle of Lisnakea. He was a writer of great elegance, but of his literary remains

at the commencement of the narrow road, with which he and his men were less familiar than were his Enniskillen foes, he threw himself from his horse, and calling upon his dragoons to dismount and follow him, he rushed forward to lead them against the Williamites, at whom he directed a brisk fire from the end of the pass, as he and his dismounted dragoons entered at a quick pace along it. His fire was answered by the Williamites, and answered with ten-fold the effect which his had—because the Williamites fired from behind entrenchments, but his men were all exposed. The result, as has been stated, was, that the Williamite fire came with deadly effect, while but few shots of the advancing Jacobites told upon their enemies. The brave Anthony Hamilton, foremost amongst his men and urging them onward, was struck in the leg by a Williamite ball, which at once unfitted him to lead on foot. He, however, still resolved to fight, ordered another officer in his place to head his men, and retired to mount his horse, being no longer able to stand. The officer who took the command was shot dead as he came to the front; and the Jacobite soldiers, pressed by a galling fire in front, seeing the commanding officer retiring to the rere, the officer who took his place dead, and no general officer to command them, halted, wavered,

the book most known and most admired is his memoir of the 'Count de Gramont,' who married his sister Miss Hamilton. The book is a picture of the licentious doings of a licentious court, and whatever may be its faults it still lives, and will live, a specimen of light and graceful narrative which won the admiration of such men as Scott and Gibbon."—*Vide Memoir of Hamilton, Preface to Bohn's Edition of the Count de Gramont.*

and fell back. Berry seized the auspicious moment; a cry of "they run" was raised; he ordered his dragoons and foot to rush along the bog at either side, while the horse galloped along the pass. Soon the Jacobite retreat became a flight—a wild rush for life, in which none looked back on the pursuing Williamite cavalry, who followed them through Lisnakea, and, during a chase of nearly two miles, slaughtered the unresisting mass, killing over two hundred of them. Nor did they sheathe their blood-dyed swords until Berry learned that Lord Mountcashel and the bulk of his army were advancing against them. Then, ordering the bugles to recall his men, and sending thirty prisoners and a large quantity of arms as prize to Enniskillen, he fell back from the work of destruction.

This action took place about nine o'clock in the morning, and by eleven o'clock Colonel Berry got information that Colonel Wolseley was advancing from Enniskillen to his relief. The two officers and their forces met at the junction of the two roads, near Lisnakea; and as the troops just arrived from Enniskillen had come without food, it became a debatable question, whether they should all return to Enniskillen for food and rest, content with their morning's victory, or press forward, and engage the army before them. The men unanimously declared for marching forward; and Colonel Wolseley accordingly formed them in order, and led them on to the cry of "No Popery,"* a war-cry which, however it

* "Colonel Wolseley and the other colonels drew up the men in *battallia,* and gave the word, 'No Popery,' which was very acceptable to all our party."—*Hamilton*, page 56.

may have served to ensure success by stirring up the bitter animosities of men whose arms were nerved for fight by religious rancour, rather stains than honours the gallant and soldierly bearing of the victors of that day.

The force* which Colonel Wolseley now led against the Jacobites consisted of sixteen troops of horse, three troops of dragoons, and twenty-one companies of foot, besides a body of men not under regular command. This army was divided by Colonel Wolseley into three divisions, and an advanced guard, which marched about half a mile in front of the first division. The first division was commanded by Colonel Tiffan, and consisted of foot in front and cavalry behind; the second was led by Colonel Loyd;

* Hamilton says of the Enniskillen force: "So that, in the whole party, we reckoned ourselves something more than two thousand,"—*vide* page 57; but J. C. O'Callaghan, in a note to his "History of the Irish Brigade," estimates it at 3,346; so that, when it is recollected that Mountcashel had lost O'Brien's regiment in the morning, out of his 3,600, it will appear the Enniskillen forces were greater than his. O'Callaghan's estimate is made thus:—

"ENNISKILLEN FORCES.

"30 companies of infantry, of which two were 100 men each, 10 were 72 men each, the remaining 18 most probably on the same scale, and the 30 consequently making	2,216
17 troops of horse, of which 2 were 100 men each; the 15 remaining would, by Williamite army scale, be 50 each; and the 17 therefore	950
3 troops of dragoons, which, by same army scale, would be 60 men each	180
Total	3,346

Vide "Irish Brigade," page 251.

and the third, consisting of the great body of the infantry, was under Wolseley's own command—the rere being covered by cavalry under the command of Colonel Berry and Major Stone. Thus formed, they marched from Lisnakea, in the direction of Newtown-Butler, where Mountcashel's army awaited them, and which was distant about four miles.

Mountcashel had raised the siege of Crom, and held all his forces together at Newtown-Butler ; but his army had suffered a severe loss that morning, in the defeat of O'Brien's regiment, two hundred of whom had fallen, and all of whom had lost their arms. But worse than the loss of men or arms was the loss of confidence consequent upon the morning's defeat of Hamilton's detachment.

The Williamite advanced guard encountered the advance guard of the Jacobites within about one mile and a-half of Newtown-Butler; the latter immediately wheeled and retreated to the main body. When the Williamite forces came another mile nearer to Newtown-Butler, they beheld the whole Jacobite army drawn out upon a hill in front of them ; but between the Williamites and the hill, the road narrowed and lay through a bog, and did not admit of more than two horsemen to advance along it side by side. The position was well taken by the Jacobites, but their Williamite antagonists were resolved to force it, and Colonel Wolseley directed their whole force to advance, sending the body of cavalry under Colonel Berry along the centre road, supported by the infantry, who were ordered to take the bog on either side. In this order they went forward to battle. The Jacobites received them with a steady but pre-

mature fire, which fell short of the advancing columns. The fire being returned, the Jacobites slowly retired, in good order, upon Newtown-Butler, the Williamites still advancing upon them through the town, which the Jacobites had fired, so that they passed through its burning ruins. The retreat and pursuit were slow and steady ; a constant fire being kept up by the Jacobites, who at intervals faced round and discharged their muskets on their pursuers. This was continued until, at the distance of about a mile beyond the town, the Jacobites had arrived at nearly a similarly situated battle-field to that from which they had retired, but which was now taken advantage of for the use of cannon. The whole movement appeared to be to gain time to draw the Williamites into disadvantageous ground. Again a narrow road with bog on either side lay between them ; the Jacobites were once more posted upon a hill, but this time there was cannon so placed as to command the road. The same order of battle was again taken by the Williamites ; their cavalry were ordered to gallop along the narrow road, and the infantry and dragoons to face the enemy at either side, advancing as best they could through the bog. They pressed forward ; but the cannon raked the road with so desperate a fire that the cavalry were forced to forego their line of march. However, the foot and dragoons, who took the bog, rushed forward with such impetuosity, that the cannon, which appears not to have been protected by a sufficient force, were speedily seized and their gunners put to the sword. The Williamite cavalry had now a free and open road, and came up to support the infantry who had achieved it for them. The Jacobite

cavalry seeing the Williamite cavalry sweeping in amongst them, while their cannon were silenced, turned and fled. Then it was that Mountcashel, observing the Enniskillen men pressing severely upon his right, gave orders to have some of the forces on the left brought to relieve the right; but the officer blundered either in receiving or giving the word of command, and instead of ordering his men to "face to the right," he ordered them to "face to the right about." Soldiers in the rere seeing their front ranks turned round against them believed the battle over and retreat to be commanded, and being, moreover, disheartened by the early flight of their cavalry, turned in confusion, and casting their arms to the ground,* placed all hope of life in fleetness of limb, and fled like routed men. The battle was over; it was an ill-contested field; the Williamites had displayed the bravery of veteran troops, the Jacobites, the timidity and cowardice† of raw and undisciplined masses.‡

* Storey, in his Impartial History, expresses his surprise that the Enniskillen men should have had so little loss in killing near three thousand of the Irish, and says, "This story seemed to me, at first, very incredible, but I was told it partly happened by a fatal mistake in the word of command amongst the Irish; for the Enniskillen men charged the right wing very smartly, which MacKarty (Mountcashel) perceiving, ordered some of his men to face to the right, and march to relieve their friends; the officer that received the orders mistook, and commanded the men, instead of facing to the right, to face to the right about."—*Vide* page 5.

† "A council of war was held to judge of the officers' and others' behaviour in this engagement, and punish such as miscarried."—*Macpherson*, vol. i. page 221.

‡ O'Kelly, in the "Macariæ Excidium," does not mention the mistake in the word of command, but he alludes to a report that the general was killed, as influencing their flight. There is a

The retreat was shameful, and the pursuit murderous, tarnishing the gallantry of the Enniskilleners with a ferocity and thirst for blood more in keeping with savage life than with a Christian people, and in the close of the seventeenth century.

As the Jacobite cavalry fled along the narrow road, they were followed closely by the Williamite cavalry on as far as Wattle Bridge—a bridge stretching over a branch of Lough Erne—which being the only route from that boggy battle-field in rere of the Jacobites, was at once secured and guarded by the cavalry of Enniskillen, who had been thus drawn on to it as pursuers of the flying Jacobite horse, and now used it to cut

difference in the description of it as given in Croker's and O'Callaghan's translations; both are therefore given in this note.

"His men were raw and newly raised, so that the cavalry, headed by ———— commander-in-chief, under Mountcashel, upon the enemie's first appearing, shamefully ran away, without striking a blow; and the foot, abandoned thus by the horse, and seeing that the general was killed, soon followed the example."—*Croker's Translation*, page 32.

"His men were raw and newly raised, so that the cavalrie, headed by Colonel Anthony Hamilton, upon the enemie's first appearing, shamefully ran away without striking a blow; and the foot, now abandoned by the horse, and being told that the general was killed, soon followed the example."—*O' Callaghan's Translation*, page 38.

Colonel Kelly does not describe the action as if he knew more of it than by report, and from his memoir in O'Callaghan's elaborately noted translation, it would appear as though he were, at the time, with Sarsfield's army. Neither is it likely that Anthony Hamilton shared in the disgraceful flight of the cavalry, which perhaps had been averted had he been present. It will be remembered that he was wounded in the thigh at Lisnakea, in the morning, and was therefore most unlikely to have been late in the day on horseback at Newtown-Butler.

off all hopes of retreat for the Jacobite infantry, while they spread themselves along the entire road, back to the point where it began as a pass, and thus had full power over the wretched Jacobite foot, now fleeing in confusion, and without arms, through the bog on both sides. A large number fled over the bog into a wood, and there being closely pressed by their pursuers,* they plunged into the waters of Lough Erne, trusting to it rather than to so merciless a foe, and there perished to the number of about five hundred. They won at least an easier doom than those who still sought to fly or hide upon the land. The Williamite soldiery pursued them with a cruel spirit that knew no humanity.† "No Popery, no quarter, no mercy." Through a long and fearful night, a heartless soldiery hunted‡ their fellow-men through ditches and hiding-places, as men would pursue beasts in a hunt, slaughtering the unresisting and unarmed, as though to kill were a pastime; and the sun was mounting to its meridian next day before

* Hamilton, page 61.

† "The Enniskilleners, in this battle, possibly carried their resentment beyond just bounds, being greatly provoked by the inhuman murder of two innocent young gentlemen, by the Lord Galmoy's orders, at Belturbet."—*Harris's Life of William III.*, p. 225.

‡ "Our foot, in the meantime, followed theirs through the bog, into a wood, near Lough Erne, and gave quarter, that day, to few or none that they met with, unless officers."—*Hamilton*, p. 61.

"All the night our foot were beating the bushes for them, and all that their officers could do could not bring them off from the pursuit, until next day, about ten o'clock, by which time scarce a man of them that took towards the lough side escaped, but was either killed, or taken prisoner, or drowned."—*Ibid.*

their officers could gather them in from the work of destruction. They returned then, for the work was ended; two thousand Jacobites had fallen, and they had made four hundred prisoners, chiefly officers and others of distinction.

Mountcashel, who, from the position in which he was taken, must have been in the front of the battle at its commencement, turned into a wood near where his cannon had been placed in the morning, and there witnessed the total and disgraceful defeat of the army he had but a few hours before regarded with pleasure and with hope. Surrounded by some half dozen of his staff, he pondered over the condition of himself, his ruined army, his lost country, and defeated king; and, with a wounded spirit and pride humbled to the earth, he sorrowed to live, and wished to die. Full of gloomy thoughts, he desired no longer to exist; but religion forbade him to be himself the instrument that would annihilate his agony of mind, he therefore sought death wildly and passionately at the hands of his enemies; and, rushing from the cover of the wood, he advanced upon the Williamites, who guarded the cannon they had taken just at that spot, and raising his useless pistol, he discharged it amongst them. The Williamites saw him advance, but never considered him an enemy, not believing there were Jacobites so near them; but when he fired, several muskets were discharged at him in return, killing his horse, whose fall brought the gallant Mountcashel to the earth, bleeding from several wounds; while one of the soldiers who had fired at him now advanced upon him, with musket reversed, to strike him on the head. Then it was that one of the Jacobites cried out, "Spare him—

it is Mountcashel ;" and a Williamite officer advanced, and gave him quarter.

The triumph of the Enniskilleners was complete. The Jacobite army was annihilated, and its general was their prisoner. They marched back to Enniskillen, carrying with them the cannon, arms, and ammunition they had seized, together with their prisoners and plunder.* They found upon the person of Mountcashel a letter written by Sarsfield, and dated from his camp at Bundroose, arranging that Mountcashel and Berwick would concentrate their forces, and attack Enniskillen from their side, while he came against it from the Connaught side ; and they congratulated themselves how they had anticipated such a junction of the Jacobite forces, and broken the army that would have made it, had it been tried, a success. But even had the battle of Newtown-Butler not taken place, such a junction was not likely; because it has been already seen how Rosen had recalled Berwick to the siege of Derry. Mountcashel was acting under the king's order, and Sarsfield had no command beyond his own army, and there was no commander on the spot to control and direct all, which affords an explanation of why two Jacobite armies had been thus beaten in the north.

The Williamites had now nearly swept their enemies from Ulster. There was no Jacobite army in the field, and no Jacobite force there, except those shut up in Charlemont and Carrickfergus Forts; and they had achieved this with the loss of but two officers, twenty men killed, and about fifty wounded. They now began to look towards Sarsfield's army, and resolved to go

* Hamilton, page 63.

and meet him on his way from Bundroose, and with soldierly haste marched from Enniskillen on the 2nd of August ; but they were met on the way by a message from Ballyshannon, apprising them that Sarsfield, hearing of the defeat of Mountcashel, had broken up his camp, and retired to Sligo. The message also informed them that the arms and ammunition sent by General Kirke were landed at Ballyshannon. They accordingly sent a detachment to get those supplies, and to garrison Ballyshannon, lest Sarsfield should return ; and while thus engaged, they learned upon the 4th of August that the army besieging Derry were in full retreat by Omagh and Charlemont, but at such a distance as to make it useless to pursue them.

They now received orders from Major-General Kirke to send seven hundred cavalry to Derry to accompany his forces, march to meet Schomberg, who was expected to speedily land in Ireland, and to bring two hundred of their prisoners with them, to unload ships, and do other work at Derry,* the men there being too sickly for labour, which orders were complied with upon the 15th of August. At Coleraine, their approach sent the Jacobite garrison in full retreat towards Charlemont, and the united Enniskilleners and Kirke's troops marched on to Carrickfergus, to meet Duke Schomberg.

Meantime Colonel Tiffin, who had been left to garrison Ballyshannon, deemed it advisable to send Lieutenant-Colonel Gore, with three troops of horse, and one hundred and fifty foot, to march in the direction of Sligo, and reconnoitre the condition of Sarsfield's

* Hamilton, page 67.

army, intending, if it seemed practicable, to get aid from Enniskillen, and to try and dislodge him from his too near proximity to their borders. Gore accordingly marched in the direction of Sligo, and when within six miles of it, they took an Irishman prisoner, whom Gore discovered to be his own foster-brother, who had fled from him, and joined the Jacobites. He prevailed on this man to carry a private message from him, as a friendly warning, to certain officers of Sarsfield's, at Sligo, telling them that he, Gore, commanded the advance guard of an army marching to their destruction, being the army of Major-General Kirke united with the Enniskillen forces, and numbering twenty thousand men. The man was further cautioned not to give this message to any but Gore's friends, whom he named. The man conveyed the message, but leaked his secret to many on the way. The result was a panic and confusion at Sligo, which speedily attracted Sarsfield's notice, and caused him to have the man brought before him, who accordingly came, and in his presence repeated the message to some of the officers to whom he had been commissioned to give it. The officers averred their belief of it, as they knew Gore, and believed that he felt kindly towards them. Sarsfield immediately ordered his drums to beat, to bring his men together; but most of his troops had already decided their course, without awaiting their general's orders;* and when he resolved to evacuate Sligo, his army having disappeared, he had to get his own servants to break the carriages of his cannon, and having done so, he went after his flying army in the direction of Ath-

* Hamilton, page 70.

lone. Sarsfield* appears to have had some blame for this; but he did not merit it. The panic had seized his men before he was aware of it, and left him powerless and without an army; and so rapid was the evacuation of the town that the whole of their cannon and provisions fell into the hands of Gore, whose deceptive ruse had won the town without a single blow.

Mountcashel, who now lay a prisoner at Enniskillen, was treated by the Williamites with great lenity, being permitted to have his own surgeon, who was sent to him by King James from Dublin, together with wine and money for him and the other prisoners there confined. He was further allowed, upon giving his parole, to move at large through the town—an indulgence creditable to the civility of those who afforded it, and to the bearing of him whose high character had won it from a stern enemy. But in proportion as his wounds healed, his desire for liberty and active soldier-life returned to him, and he resolved to avail himself of some honourable mode of escape, without dishonouring his parole. It was not likely that he who had so chivalrously sought to die when he thought his cause lost, and his army disgraced,† would now wish to live,

* "Sarsfield, a young captain, beloved by the soldierie, commanding at that time some troops about Sligo, to defend this part of Connaught from incursions out of Ulster, upon the first notice of this overthrow, quitted Sligo, and never rested until he marched along to Athlone, leaving the province of Connaught exposed to the enemy."—*Macariæ Excidium*, edited by O'Callaghan, page 38.

† "Being asked how he came to so rashly hazard his life, when he might have gone off with his horse when they made their escape, he professed that he found now the kingdom like to be lost, his army being the best, for their number, that King James had, unless those before Derry, who were then much broken; and

if liberty or life was to be won by a single stain. The regal blood of ancient Ireland ran in his veins.* He was the descendant of men who were Irish princes before the first English invasion of his country; and their name should remain unsullied in him who was justly proud of his princely heritage. A report was circulated that he intended to escape—it is said he originated the report himself; but be that as it may, it achieved the end he aimed at. His parole was withdrawn; he was placed under close arrest, and accordingly considered himself at liberty to leave his prison when and as best he could. Nor was he long of finding the means. A favourable night—his guard bribed†—a cot upon the waters of Lough Erne, which flowed beneath his prison—and he was gone.

The Enniskilleners, who had held him a prisoner for nearly four months, were sorely grieved at his escape, and the then Governor was tried for it,‡ but acquitted.

that he came with a design to lose his life, and was sorry that he had missed his end, being unwilling to outlive that day."—*Hamilton*, page 62.

* "The Macarthys were Princes of Desmond before the English invasion, in 1172. Justin M'Carthy was the Lieutenant-General M'Carthy of whom James makes mention as having subdued Bandon and Castle Martyr at the time of James's arrival at Cork (*vide Clarke's Life*, vol. ii., page 327). And it appears from the Journals of the Parliament of Ireland, dated May 24th, 1689, that he was at that time raised by James to the peerage:—'Colonel M'Carthy, made Baron Mountcashel, introduced.'"—*Vide C. Croker's Notes to Macariæ Excidium*, page 118.

† "The man who helped him to escape—a Serjeant Acheson—was taken next day, and shot for his offence."—*Harris*, page 225.

‡ "Colonel Hambleton, Governor of the town, was tried for it afterwards by a court-martial; but producing Major-General Kirke's

The escape of Mountcashel gave extreme pleasure to the king and to the Jacobites throughout Ireland. He was received at Dublin with great demonstrations of joy, and it was arranged that he should have a command in the Irish army about to be sent into France,* in exchange for the French troops Louis was giving to James. Some aspersions having been cast upon Mountcashel's character for the manner in which he made his escape, his proud spirit was wounded, and immediately upon his arrival in France, he had himself brought to trial before a court-martial of officers of that nation,† who then held, as they have since maintained, in all matters of military honour and etiquette, a character the highest that Europe knows. That court pronounced his conduct honourable, and restored him to his proud position as an unstained soldier, who had lost his country, his estates,‡ and titles, and was

letter to him, wherein he desired that some further conveniencies might be allowed Mackarty than formerly; upon which it being done (with the duke's consent, who took Mackarty for a man of honour), the Governor was acquitted."—*Story's Continuation,* page 11.

* It would appear from the Rawdon Papers that the Irish showed great hesitation in leaving Ireland at that time; for in a letter signed Hugh M'Gill, and dated April 7th, 1690, it is stated that "Lord Mountcashel, Colonel Fielding (the Boe), and another Colonel, were near Cork, with 5 or 6000 foot, in order to be sent from thence (in the ships that brought the supplies) for France; but that the Irish were very unwilling to leave their own country, and deserted daily."—*Vide Rawdon Papers,* page 317.

† "Lord Mountcashel, escaping into France, was tried there by a court of honour for breach of his parole; but making the circumstances of his escape evident, was acquitted."—*Harris,* page 225.

‡ There is a touching story told by Crofton Croker, in his "Researches in the South of Ireland," of a Macarthy in later days

to have henceforward but the bright memory of the past, and a soldier's sword, to cut his way in a foreign clime, and find himself a foreign grave. That name, well remembered in Ireland, is preserved too in France; and when the soldier, returned to her vineyards, records the tales of France's feats of arms in the olden time, the memory of the Irish Brigade is recalled, and with it comes the name of the highminded Mountcashel,* making one of the many links which bind up Irish memories with the history of France's gallant empire.

coming to visit his ancestral lands, and to behold them for the last time. "A considerable part of the forfeited estates of that family in the County Cork was held by Mr. S—— about the middle of the last century. Walking one evening in his demesne, he observed a figure, apparently asleep, at the foot of an aged tree; and, on approaching the spot, found an old man extended on the ground, whose audible sobs proclaimed the severest affliction. Mr. S. inquired the cause, and was answered: 'Forgive me, Sir; my grief is idle; but to mourn is a relief to the desolate heart and humbled spirit. I am a Macarthy, once the possessor of that castle, now in ruins, and of this ground. This tree was planted by my own hands, and I have returned to water its roots with my tears. To-morrow I sail for Spain, where I have long been an exile, and an outlaw since the revolution. I am an old man; and to-night, probably for the last time, bid farewell to the place of my birth and the home of my forefathers.'"—*Croker's Researches*, page 305.

* O'Callaghan has published, from official correspondence in the State Paper Office, a letter of William's state secretary, Lord Shrewsbury, to Major-General Kirke, which bears strong testimony to the character of Mountcashel. It is dated Whitehall, 4th November, 1689. Shrewsbury expresses his regret that he cannot address the General by his Irish title of Mountcashel:—"Sir, I received your letter of the 29th of October, with one enclosed, which, by its contents, I understood to be from Justin M'Carty, though I find it subscribed by another name, and for that reason

Mountcashel and his brigade landed in France in the month of May, 1690, and did service to France for about four years, when his old wounds, and others more recently acquired, gradually undermined his health, and he died at Barrege,* in the summer of 1694.

I cannot send an answer directly to himself (which I would otherwise have done, in remembrance of our former acquaintance), because I believe he has forgot the old name which we knew one another by, and here we have not yet learned the new one; but however I have neither more nor less esteem for his person than I ever had, and I heartily wish him his liberty. * * * I am so well satisfied of his being a man of his honour, that, as to my own particular, I should rely upon his word for whatever he thought fit to engage it."—*Notes to Macariæ Excidium*, page 318.

It is refreshing to meet such a passage as the above, coming, as it does, from the ranks of a man's enemies, yet bearing testimony to the moral greatness of that man. Shrewsbury's letter bears evidence for Mountcashel that is unimpeachable.

*His decease is thus announced, under the head of "Paris, 31st July, 1694," in the French Official Journal:—"My Lord Montcassell, Lieutenant-General of the armies of the king, commander of three Irish regiments, died the first of this month at Barrege, of the wounds he had received on several occasions, in which he was always extremely distinguished."—*See* O'Callaghan's Irish Brigade, page 70, a work replete with the richest information, and displaying an amount of research, remarkable as the accomplishment of one man.

CHAPTER VII.

SCHOMBERG'S DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN.

When the Jacobite army broke up their camp at Derry, and began to march from their useless entrenchments, their ranks had been thinned by numerous desertions,*

* Upon the 27th of July, 1689, but three days before the raising of the siege of Derry, the following proclamation was issued from Dublin Castle. "James R. Whereas, we are informed that several officers of our armies, especially of that now before Londonderry, have departed from their commands, without leave of their superior officers, having power for that effect, and that by their bad example, many soldiers, as well of the companies of the said officers, as others, in all our armies, have deserted and run away from their colours. Our will and pleasure, therefore, is, that all such officers as shall have left the places where their command was, without leave of the commander-in-chief of that army, or part of our troops from whence they departed, shall return to the place where their respective commands shall be, within the space of fifteen days from the date hereof, under the pain of being prosecuted to death, as deserters and runaways from our army. And we do hereby ordain all officers who have so quitted, without leave, to recruite and make up their respective companies, sufficiently clothed and armed as they were. Assuring all such as shall fail herein, that we will have it done at their expences, by such as we will name for that purpose, besides the punishment we will inflict on them for the negligence and contempt of our orders; and we do require all soldiers who have deserted, as aforesaid, to return to their respective regiments, troops, or companies, within the space of fifteen days from the date of these presents, in which case we think fit that they be pardoned for what is past, they bringing their clothes, arms, and

as well as by sickness and Williamite bullets. Desertions included officers as well as soldiers, the latter carrying away their military equipments; and both having a strong excuse in the circumstance that their pay* had not been regularly supplied. The Northern army, therefore, returned towards Dublin, but the miserable skeleton of what it otherwise should have been, even in despite of its defeats at Derry and Newtown-Butler. The principal officers and their staffs hastened to Dublin, having left garrisons at such points as were deemed of sufficient military importance to require being made defensible.

Major General Bohan,† with a portion of Purcell's dragoons, and a regiment of foot, was left in charge of Charlemont; Sir Charles Carny, with some men, was in the neighbourhood of Coleraine; Colonel Maxwell, with two imperfect regiments of foot, and some ill-armed cavalry, lay between Belfast and Newry; and Macarty Moore's regiment, together with some companies of Cormac O'Neill's, held Carrickfergus. Four of the regiments lay at Drogheda. South and west, James's positions and forces were, Monsieur D'Anglour, with some foot, held Athlone; Lord Clare was in Munster; Lord Tyrone at Waterford; Kinsale and Lime-

horses with them, if any such were taken away by them, but if they, the said soldiers, shall not return again, within the time appointed, our will and pleasure is, that they shall be proceeded against and put to death, as deserters and runaways." &c. &c.

"By His Majesty's Command,
"Melfort."

Vide Original Proclamations.

* "James's troops in Ireland had neither arms nor pay."—*Macpherson Papers*, vol. i. page 306.

† Clarke's Life of James, vol. ii. page 372.

rick were occupied by their ordinary garrisons, and the latter place was under the command of the Earl of Limerick. South, east, and west, the municipalities held the towns, and the old lords of the soil held the counties for James; but from the principal parts of the North he had been beaten, and the grasp he held of any portion of it was feeble in the extreme. What made this defeat as remarkable as it was nearly complete, was the circumstance that the Northern settlers and Williamites had achieved their victory without foreign soldiery; they had received aid in arms, and ammunition, and had got some officers from England, but the victory was all their own, and, in this respect, the men of Enniskillen and Derry may claim a distinction, such as does not belong to the Irish Williamites, in any of the after battles of the period.

For some few days after the retreat of the Jacobite army from the extreme North, there was a lull in the battle storm, but it was only a temporary cessation. A Williamite army had been mustering in England, and was preparing to descend on Ireland. That army had been enrolled for nearly three months,* but were kept without moving from England, waiting for orders, and, as it would appear, in readiness to march either to Scotland or to Ireland. It would be strange that such an army should have remained inactive during the period when the Williamite party were making their most hazardous struggle with the Jacobite army, if it were not that, just at that time, the noble Dundee had gathered an army for James, and

* Storey, page 6.

threatened to make good his cause in Scotland; but his death, in the moment of victory, at Killikranky, lost all, and left William at liberty to order Schomberg's army to Ireland. This army had been enrolled in about six weeks, and were armed out of Holland, where William had resources which gave him a great mastery during the war. The army consisted of eighteen regiments of foot, and either four or five of horse. Of this army about ten thousand men*—the infantry commanded by Count Solmes, and the whole being under the the command of the Duke of Schomberg—embarked at Chester upon the 8th of August, 1689; they were detained for four days longer by contrary winds, but were able to sail on the 12th, and on the afternoon of the 13th, they entered Belfast Lough, and landed in Bangor, and lay on their arms all night. The garrison of Carrickfergus, upon the opposite arm of the lough, now prepared themselves for siege, and burned all their suburbs the next day. Schomberg having sent out detachments towards Belfast and the surrounding neighbourhood, the Jacobite forces deserted those places. Upon the 17th Schomberg took possession of Belfast, with his entire army, and from thence sent five regiments upon the 20th, and two more regiments the day following, to encamp before Carrickfergus, and lay siege to that place. This large army completely surrounded the town, and the duke himself directing their proceedings, they threw up the necessary entrenchments, and placed their mortars and battering cannon in readiness to fire. The garrison now desired a parley, and sent written proposals;

* Storey's Impartial History, page 6.

but the duke considering they only sought time to get assistance, or permission how to act, ordered their officer instantly to depart from his camp, and in return for his discourtesy, the Jacobite cannon promptly opened the fight by a discharge directed against his very tent, but the duke had just left it, and so escaped. The firing now became general on both sides; the Williamites directly playing on the residence of Lord Donegal, a noble mansion, from whose roof cannon fired effectively into the Williamite camp. The trenches were now drawn nearer to the wall, and were mounted by four regiments. Upon the 23rd the garrison again desired a parley, and offered to surrender, if permitted to march out with drums beating and colours flying; but the duke refused all conditions short of their surrendering themselves prisoners of war. The firing went on; additional cannon and larger mortars being now used, and the town enveloped in clouds of dust, from the falling houses and battered walls. Still the gallant little garrison held on, and the breaches which were made by day were, by their untiring industry, closed up by night, and when the ordinary means failed for filling up a gaping breach, they drove their cattle up into it, and as the cattle fell under the Williamite ball, the besieged heaped stones and rubbish over them, and so sought to make good their broken defences.

But energy and valour were unavailing; a numerous and well-supplied army surrounded them; the besiegers' ammunition began to fail; and now a new power appeared against them from the water—Schomberg having ordered the men of war in the bay to fire their cannon upon the doomed town. Macarty

Moore again hung out his white flag; and Schomberg, wearied with an entire week's siege of a place which he thought he should have had on the first day, consented to permit them to march out with their arms. At first he had some difficulty in repressing the ferocity* of his own soldiers, who thought, in despite of the treaty, to have the town by force, being indignant at its resolute resistance. But when his officers entered the town, they found that the garrison's ammunition had been reduced to a single barrel of powder, and their dead and wounded numbered one hundred and fifty, being nearly equal to that of the Williamites, who had of dead and wounded two hundred and ten men. The treaty once made, and the Williamite forces having entered the town, the Jacobites received the officers of Schomberg with that genuine Irish hospitality and forgetfulness of recent fight so characteristic of the country; they carried them into their castle, and there feasted them with such provisions and wines as it contained.

The garrison, consisting of but two regiments of foot, marched out upon the 28th of August. They carried their arms, and had an escort of cavalry as a guard, under the command of Sir William Russell, who does not appear to have performed his duty over well; for, upon their marching out, they were attacked by the Williamite inhabitants of the neighbourhood with such violence, that Schomberg affected, with pistol in hand, to ride in amongst them and protect them. But he did not protect them as he should have done, with an army under his command; and

* Storey, page 9.

it is not creditable to his memory that these beaten but gallant defenders of Carrickfergus should have had their arms dragged from their soldier hands by a savage rabble, who, not content with outraging fallen bravery, tore the clothing from the persons of their women, stripping their wives and daughters in a manner unbecoming manhood. That such deeds should have been perpetrated in his presence was as degrading to him as to the perpetrators, who rebuked him* because he did not put all those Jacobites to the sword.

The duke now marched back to Belfast, having left Sir Henry Inglesby's regiment in charge of Carrickfergus. The entire army encamped outside Belfast. The duke now prepared to march south;† and as he had not yet received the horses that were to carry his artillery over land, he shipped his cannon, instructing it to be conveyed to Carlingford Bay. While these things were doing, the Duke of Berwick sent him a letter by trumpet; but as it was addressed to Count Schomberg—Berwick refusing to recognize his Williamite title of duke—he refused to open the letter, and returned it, declaring it was not for him, as he was a duke, and not a count.

* "So angry were they one at another, though they live all in a country."—*Storey*, page 10.

† The army under his command are thus enumerated by Storey, at page 11 of his Impartial History:—"Schomberg's regiment of French horse, Lord Devonshire's regiment, Colonel Coy's, Colonel Leveson's dragoons, one battalion of Blew Dutch, Carleson's White Dutch, Col. Beaumont, Col. Wharton, Lord Drogheda, Lord Lisburn, Lord Meath, Lord Roscommon, Lord Lovelace, Lord Kingston, Duke of Norfolk, Col. Herbert, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Thos. Gower, Col. Earle, La Millioneir, Du Chambon, and La Callimotte."

Schomberg commenced his march upon the 2nd of September, having lost eighteen days between Belfast and Carrickfergus, which time enabled the Jacobites to muster an army, and show a front to his, which, had he at once marched for Dublin, they never could have done. That delay at Belfast lost a year to the progress of the Williamite army, and cost the lives of a vast mass of his best soldiers. Schomberg, in making that delay, acted upon the old military maxim—that an invading army should leave no enemy behind them. The maxim was a disastrous guide in that instance; and had the veteran leader known the true state of James's position, he might, by a rapid march,* have ended the war with less disasters than those which he encountered during a campaign of comparative inactivity.

The duke continued his march, and learned upon the 4th of September, when near the town of Newry, that the Duke of Berwick was there, with nearly two thousand men, to oppose his march. Schomberg had marched thus far, using the Enniskillen horse and dragoons as an advance guard, selected for that duty, because of their presumed knowledge of the country; and as he advanced, the country around was deserted by its inhabitants, who carried their cattle away with them, and left their reaped but unbound corn rotting in the fields, meet emblem of the fate which lay before his well equipped army.

When the news of Schomberg's invasion was received

* "Had he marched straight forward, without amusing himself, he would have got to Dublin before the king could have been in a condition to oppose him."—*Berwick's Memoir*, vol. i. page 956.

at Dublin, coming, as it did, quick upon the defeat of two northern armies, it struck the Jacobite court with the utmost alarm. A large number, and especially the French officers, beheld with dismay this army, which threatened the very capital of the country, and might have had it by a rapid movement; and amid the various suggestions offered in the emergency, a majority, headed by De Rosen, urged upon James the necessity of immediately proceeding to Athlone, and defending the passes of the Shannon, to hold Connaught until reinforcements could be had from France;* thus making a winter campaign there, and abandoning the rest of Ireland to the Williamite army. James himself was opposed to this course; but Tyrconnel turned the scale, and fixed the wavering, though they greatly dreaded Schomberg's army getting between them and Athlone, and thus cutting off all chance of retreat. It was therefore resolved to recruit and extend the army, and to meet Schomberg north of Dublin, and give battle to the Williamite forces. Orders were accordingly issued to Sir Charles Carney to quit Colerain, and march down by Charlemont, as his longer stay in the far north was hazardous. The Duke of Berwick was ordered to Newry, with an army of one thousand foot soldiers, and about six hundred cavalry, with instructions to keep the place as long as he could, and from thence to oppose and retard Schomberg's march towards Dublin as long as he was able—thus gaining time for James to enroll a new army, and meet him. The duty entrusted to Berwick was one of great responsibility, and requiring all the vigilance of an

* Clarke's Life of James, vol. ii. p. 373.

active officer to perform it with success, and in a manner consistent with the safety of the little army with which he ventured to stem an army tenfold his numbers, and commanded by an able and distinguished general. Berwick executed his commands with consummate dexterity. He arrived at Newry while Schomberg was besieging Carrickfergus, and at once commenced throwing up works, not so much with the object of using them, as to make them subservient to a report he caused to be circulated, that he was determined to dispute Schomberg's passage there, and so to cause Schomberg to delay, lest Berwick either had a large army within his reach, or a better post than was really at his disposal;* for Schomberg does not appear to have had either early or very accurate information as regarded the condition or movements of the Jacobite army; and though King James went in person as far as Drogheda on the 20th of August, and began to gather in his army, Schomberg did not hear of his being there until the 8th of September, or nearly three weeks after the occurrence.

Berwick, on the 5th of September, extended his troops so artfully upon the hills and prominent places around Newry, that Schomberg, coming in great force to reconnoitre his position, did not deem it advisable to attack him without due preparation, and accordingly made arrangements to do so upon the following day; but when morning opened, Berwick had retired to Dundalk; and when Schomberg entered Newry, he found it a mass of smoking ruins, the Jacobites having fired it in the night. Subsequently, Berwick fell back

* Berwick's Memoir, vol. i. page 57.

upon Drogheda, and joined the army there, which, owing to the exertions of Tyrconnel, now numbered twenty-two thousand men. Tyrconnel displayed wonderful energy in collecting such an army within so short a time; and while enrolling and directing its movements, he had been suffering under ill health;* but the emergency took him from his sick chamber, at Chapelizod, and within twenty-four hours† he had marched into Drogheda, from the south and west, fourteen thousand men additional to those already there with James. Schomberg had now advanced upon Dundalk, having left behind him at Newry a detachment of fifty men, under the command of Captain Palliser. Schomberg now encamped his army within about one mile of Dundalk; the place was selected because of its being close to that town, which the Jacobites had left without destroying, and partly because of its proximity to the sea, by which the duke expected both his artillery and the provisions, which were already urgently needed by his army. Schomberg appears to have been hurried over to Ireland before all things were ready for his army, and was promised that another army was to be landed in the west of Ireland. This want of neces-

* Clarke's Life of James, vol. ii. page 374.

† "And I was told since by some of themselves, they had not at that time above 8000 men in a body: Mareschal De Rosen was very much concerned at this, and, with some others, was for deserting Drogheda and Dublin, and retreating towards Athlone and Limerick, as they did this year. This, my Lord Tyrconnel heard of where he was sick at Chapel-Izzard, and went immediately to Drogheda, where he told them that he would have an army there, by next night, of 20,000 men, which, accordingly, proved true, for they came in from Munster on all hands."—*Storey*, page 17.

saries compelled him to keep near the coast, whence he expected his cannon* and supplies; and the deficiency† and ill condition of the food supplied to his men had already begun to affect their health. Both these embarrassments, together with the want of a suitable field train, and the non-arrival of the army, which, had it been landed in Connaught, would have placed James in the ruinous position of being shut up between them, compelled Schomberg to fix his camp, and take a defensive‡ rather than an offensive position; and with that view he pitched his camp upon the 7th of September, 1689. The ground chosen was good as to position, but it was low and marshy, and ill suited to be the winter residence of an army unaccustomed to the climate§ they had to encounter. The Jacobites appear to have been aware‖ of the risk which Schom-

* Storey, page 43.

† "The country, as we marched, was all destroyed by the Irish, so that by the time we got to Newry, I was forced to go and dig potatoes, which made the greatest part of a dinner for better men than myself; and, if it was so with us, it may easily be supposed that the poor soldiers had harder times of it."—*Storey*, page 42.

‡ "Schomberg had set all hands to work to secure himself by fortifying Dundalk, and seemed rather to prepare against a siege than a battle."—*Macpherson Papers*, vol. i. page 222.

§ "The King, now in Tredagh, was informed, by some Irish and one French deserter, that Schomberg's troops were very much diseased and in want of provisions."—*Ibid.*, page 221.

‖ "Dundalk, where he had lost half of his force with disorders occasioned by the unwholesomeness of the air."—*Berwick*, vol. i. p. 58.

"We encamped about a mile on this side of the town of Dundalk, in a low moist ground, having the town with the river towards the west, between us and the enemy, the sea towards the south, the Newry mountains to the east, and towards the

berg ran in making a winter campaign in the locality he had selected for that purpose, and if they did not absolutely draw him into it, they were, at least, not unwilling spectators of the evils he was likely to encounter from the severity of their climate. Schomberg himself took up his quarters in Dundalk, where he got his cannon and stores on shore, and having thrown up entrenchments around his camp and the town, he there awaited events. The main body of the army was in the camp, but he kept with himself in the town the Enniskillen* and Levison's dragoons, besides a battalion of foot and some horse, who acted as recruiting parties.

While James held his head quarters at Drogheda, he held out great encouragement† to Schomberg's men

north were hills and bogs intermixed. The Protestants that were left there told us the Irish boasted, when they went away, that they would drive us all back into the sea again, or else we would die of ourselves, the English not being used to the field, especially in a strange country, and at that time of the year."—*Storey*, page 15.

* "He (James) sent a party over the river, which took some prisoners, amongst which a lieutenant of foot, who told him that Mons. Schomberg had begun to fortify Dundalk to secure himself there, his army being encamped on the other side of the river, keeping with him in the town and within the entrenchments (in which they were working) two battalions of the Inniskillingers and Levison's dragoons."—*Clarke's Life of James II.*, vol. ii. page 380.

James, in his own memoirs, always called Schomberg monsieur, as he would not recognize his title of duke.

† There are two of those amongst the Jacobite proclamations in my possession. The first of them—that dated September 2—is on a slip of paper, about four inches by six, and is printed in plain letter, being evidently addressed to the common soldiers, and intended for distribution amongst them. It is as follows:—

to desert and come over to the Jacobite army. And for that purpose, issued declarations addressed to the

"James R.—We are graciously pleased to declare to all whom it may concern, that we will cause forty shillings, *sterl.* to be paid to every souldier, whether Catholic or Protestant, English or stranger, now serving under the command of Marshall Schomberge, who will come and enlist himself in our army. And as to the officers, that we will give them the same command as they had in the enemy's army, and also will prefer them to better employments, as they shall deserve the same. Given at our court at Drogheda, the second day of September, 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign. By his Majestie's command, Ri. Nagle."

The second is printed in the black letter used in all the other proclamations, and is more especially directed to the officers, though but dated one day later, namely, the 3rd of September.

"By the King. A Declaration.

"We, being informed that as well in the troops lately come out of England, who made a descent into this our kingdom under the command of Marshall Schomberge, as in those who formerly have taken arms here against us, there are many officers and souldiers, as well our subjects as strangers enlisted and engaged with our enemies; the first rather for want of taking due consideration of the consequence of treason and rebellion, suffering themselves to be deluded by those who, under many false pretences, labour to perswade them to join with our enemy, than out of any treasonable intention or want of affection to us, their lawful sovereign; the other for want of reflecting upon the unlawfulness of their actions, which tend to promote injustice and usurpation: And being further informed that they are now so sensible of the fault they committed that our subjects amongst them are ready to return to their allegiance, in case we would grant them our pardon for taking arms against us; and having taken the same into our princely consideration, and being not only inclined to use clemency, but also to be favourable to such of the said officers and souldiers as shall come to our army in order to fight for us, their lawful prince, against our enemy: We do hereby publish and declare that we will not only grant our royal pardon to all such officers and souldiers, whether subjects or strangers, whether they be come out of England under the command of Marshall Schomberge, or acted here before against us;

Williamite soldiers and officers, and it would appear with some effect, as considerable numbers did desert to him ; but desertion took place in the opposite direction also, though not to the same extent. Within three weeks after the declaration was published by James, inviting the Williamites to desert, a large number of the French soldiers were discovered deserting from the camp at Dundalk. They were under the

but that they shall have the like command and employment in our service that they now have among our enemy, and shall be promoted and preferred to better employment, according to their merit, and shall enjoy the same liberty and freedom as any other of our faithful subjects, of what perswasion soever in religion, do enjoy, provided that they return to their duty, and joyn with our army before the ——— day of ——— next ensuing the date hereof. But in case any of them refuse to accept of this our royal offer, we do hereby declare that they shall be dealt with according to the utmost rigour of the common law and martial law of this our kingdom. Given at our court at Drogheda, the 3rd day of September, 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign. By his Majestie's command, Ri. Nagle."

There is a pompous puerility in the diction of the latter of those proclamations, quite in keeping with James's style upon similar occasions. The proclamation is not entitled to much consideration because of its clemency, which sprung rather from the selfishness, than from the feeling or generosity, of that nature which so recently had no mercy for the unfortunate Monmouth. The promise of freedom for religious opinion may have been sincere, but the wording is dubious. I have given both these documents in full, because they tend to show the state of James's mind at the time, and the straitened condition he was in, when he thus endeavoured to incite desertion amongst his enemies; and there is no doubt that, whether these proclamations or other circumstances caused it, the desertions from Schomberg's camp were very extensive. The first of these proclamations has no imprint, but the second sets out that it was "printed by Andrew Crook and Samuel Helsham, at his Majestie's printing house on Ormondekey and the Colledge Arms in Castle-street, Dublin." The first was possibly printed at Drogheda.

command and guidance of one Du Plessy, who served as a private in the regiment of M. Cambon, and had been a captain of horse in France, whence he had to fly, for murder. He came over as a poor refugee, and worked as an engineer in the trenches, where he so well covered his design, that when wounded at Carrickfergus, he still continued to incite his fellow-soldiers to fight the Jacobites ; but he was discovered inciting to desertion, and in correspondence with D'Avaux and King James. Schomberg had been previously warned about the French by Colonel Wolseley, who learned, through one of his spies, that the Jacobites at Dublin expected a number of the French to go over to them ; but he would not believe it. They were all hanged upon a common gallows on the road near Dundalk, and when dying, confessed themselves Catholics, and that their intention had been to take over all they could from King William to King James.* Schomberg having by this means discovered that there were Catholics in his army, issued an order upon the 28th of September, requiring all Catholics to avow themselves on pain of death ; those who avowed themselves, and who were principally amongst the French, were all immediately placed under arrest, and sent guarded to Carlingford,† while a further order was issued to

* Storey, page 25.

† "All that were Papists were commanded to discover it on pain of death. * * * That a list should be given in from every regiment, of the officers' names, and where they were, with the names of those that were absent; and all those that had not received the Sacrament since they had their commissions, were to prepare against the Sunday following."—*Storey*, page 26. The number of Frenchmen hanged upon the occasion were seven, and the number sent away to Carlingford and put on board ship, as avowed or

discover all those who did not frequent the Sacrament according to the law of England. These things tended to make the chasm wider between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland—the only result of consequence which appears to have followed upon James's seductive proclamations.

While James remained at Drogheda, De Rosen's party continued to press upon him the advice, that the course necessary and advisable to be taken was to leave his present position, and return to Athlone and the Connaught side of the Shannon; urging upon him the hazard of Schomberg's army marching by Trim, and so cutting him off from the West, or of his fleet landing a body of men near or at Dublin, and so seizing the Capital, where William had many friends. Upon the other hand, the Tyrconnel party argued the necessity of preventing the further advance of Schomberg, that the Jacobite army had provisions where they were, while in Connaught there was not then enough of corn to subsist them for two months, that the Capitol and heart of the country should be kept from the enemy, and that the event of a battle might decide all in James's favour; while even to keep Schomberg where he was, was sure to ruin his army. A speculation, which, though warranted by the condition of the climate, and the scarcity of provisions, yet reflects

suspected Catholics, were about five hundred.—*Vide Macpherson Papers*, vol. i. page 223, where there is also an account of an attempt made by the Jacobites to bring off those 500 French Catholics from Carlingford, for which purpose they made a detour march of thirty miles, but the final result is not stated, and was, most likely, unsuccessful, as no mention is made of it in James's own memoirs.

credit upon the forethought and calculative powers of Tyrconnel, who appears to have been the ruling spirit of James's party, and whose anticipations of the distress about to be endured by Schomberg's army were terribly verified.

James now feeling confidence in the army he had with him, set out upon the 14th of September, and marched to Ardee, about half way between Drogheda and Dundalk,* without meeting any enemy, but he learned there, that twelve sail of Schomberg's fleet had been up towards Skerries, and from thence to Howth and Bullock, but did not attempt to land at any of those places. On the 16th he marched his cavalry to Allardstown, near Affyn Bridge, within three miles of Dundalk, and his infantry coming up next day, he pitched his camp there. Upon the 20th he marched his army within cannon shot of Schomberg, and drew them out in battle order, extending them in double line along a range of hills opposite Dundalk. The wary Schomberg, who was not to be tempted by this offer of battle from a superior force, kept behind his entrenchments, restraining his soldiers, who burned with ardour to accept the challenge offered to them

* "King James threatens to fight the English between Drogheda and Dunkalk, and intends to march his army thither, having fortified the town of Drogheda with all the care and diligence they are capable of, which truly is not much, for a safe retreat in case the enemy should be beaten, thinking that they may endure a winter's siege, and then they may be relieved by the French at spring, the Irish bragging that they have left the north for the English to make themselves graves."—Extract from "*Account of Duke Schomberg's March to Dublin*," a scarce pamphlet, dated September 2nd, 1689, and quoted in Dalton's interesting History of Drogheda, vol. ii. page 309.

by the Jacobite army, who invited them by shouts and gestures to engage. Schomberg remained passive within his strongly entrenched camp, defying James to attack him there, and yet refusing to come out and fight in front of it. The two armies remained in view of each other for some hours, and there being no prospect of either acceding to the wishes of the other, James's army returned to their tents, and Schomberg's continued passive. The remainder of the month was consumed without any result beyond skirmishes between outposts and videttes, little deserving of notice, with the exception of one, in which a body of French Huguenots, surprised by a Jacobite reconnoitering party, doggedly refused to accept quarter,* and upon the 5th of October, James, despairing of getting Schomberg out of his entrenchments, marched back to Ardee, having first wasted and burned all the forage in front of the Williamite camp, and up to his own.

Early in November James broke up his encampment, and having left small garrisons in the various towns around Drogheda, he sent most of his army into winter quarters, and returned to Dublin on the 8th of the month, much elated with the knowledge that Schomberg was unwilling to fight him in the open field. It was now too late in the winter for any chance of Schomberg's attempting further progress; and indeed James's knowledge of what the Duke's army was enduring at Dundalk left him confident of security against the Williamites' further progress towards Dublin, with the army then under his command. Meantime Schomberg's army were in a state

* Macpherson, vol. i. page 222.

of pitiable suffering. An ill-chosen situation for their camp; moist and marshy ground; heavy rains, and inclement weather, combined with bad and deficient food, to undermine their health; and then with the pestilence came the moral plague, which ensues ever amongst encamped masses, when want of active occupation and depressed spirits are permitted to pervade a mass of people, the victims of physical want and deadly disease; the intellectual and spiritual mastery of manhood becomes as fallen as the physical framework it regulates, and the man loses his God-head stamp and dwindles into a deteriorated human shape, soulless, heartless, feelingless—an animal in sensation, a beast in appetite.

This terrific malady, which wasted Schomberg's army, was said to have been brought amongst them by some soldiers who came out of Derry;* but it was evidently one of those pestilential diseases which from time to time have arisen in camps, where raw and unseasoned troops are exposed to hardships and privations for the first time. For two weary months its influence swept the camp of the Williamites; when first it began to show itself, huts were erected for the sick, and then, as it spread further, the camp was raised and moved to other ground, leaving the huts for the sick; but the huts filled so fast, and the disease spread with such rapidity, that ships were ordered to be in readiness at Dundalk and Carlingford, to which the sick were removed. Regiments were now paraded in companies that did not muster a dozen men each; the living were busied in piling arms, and storing the military

* Storey, page 39.



GENERAL SCHOMBERG.

goods of men never more to hear the bugle call; officers and soldiers alike fell beneath the poison of fever, which made no distinction; death accumulated so fast that it became expedient to forego the military ceremonial of firing over the dead, and soldiers were hurled, *en masse*, into graves, without the ceremony of the muffled drum or the musquet roll. The living lost all sympathy with the sick, all respect for the dead. Men gathered shivering round their watch-fires, and dragged along the carcasses of their dead* comrades, as they would trunks of trees, for seats, and they murmured over the removal of their lifeless associates† because they missed the wretched carcass which sheltered them from the biting wind, or raised them up from the wet and muddy earth which floored their tents. Death now raked their ranks as never did Jacobite ball; the sick were moved in cart loads to the ships; and ever as the heavy machines jolted along, the dead and the dying fell, or were cast off upon the road side, and lay unnoticed where they fell, until the roads were strewn with lifeless soldiers. Then the ships filled so fast, that they were ordered out into deep water, filled below and filled on deck, where their canvass tents were used as covering and marked the plague ships as they moved for Belfast.

When the ships came to Belfast, some of them lay out at Carrickfergus, awaiting accommodation for the sick. There were some ships whose crews had sickened on the passage, and the vessels drifted in the bay; for

* Storey, page 36.

† For they were the hardest hearted, one to another, in the world."—*Storey*, page 30.

there was no living hand on board for rudder or for sail—the ship was freighted with death, and death alone.

In the bleak month of November, Schomberg began to disperse the remnant of his army. He sent some into winter quarters, made his head quarters at Lisburn, and ordered the sick to hospital at Belfast. His march through the snow-covered hills and dreary roads was still marked by death. Men sickened as they marched, dropped aside, and died; and some who were too sick to move were left to the mercy of the Jacobites, who tended them, and did not abuse the confidence thus placed in their sympathy* for the suffering.

At least eight thousand men died in that plague; nearly two thousand lay upon the earth, or beneath it, at Dundalk; as many more had been cast into the sea during that sail for Belfast, and the remainder perished within its hospitals.

The Jacobite army appear to have had some disease amongst them while at Ardee; but its results were of a far less serious character. Had they known its true condition, what a prey Schomberg's camp would have been in that first week of November!†

* "These were at the mercy of the enemy, who did not use them ill, but buried several that were dead."—*Storey*, page 36.

† This disease, of which such numbers perished, partook very much of the character of many of the famine epidemics with which Ireland has been but too familiar for many years. From the description written of it by Storey in his Impartial History, and by James, as given in Clarke's Memoirs, it would appear to have been partly dysentery, and partly low fever, while many died of mortification, losing their limbs first; and the latter author describes them to have been sadly infested with vermin.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT SCHOMBERG DID WITH THE REST OF HIS ARMY.

SCHOMBERG'S defensive and unfortunate campaign gave much dissatisfaction to his soldiery, and might have been productive of serious mischief to the discipline of his army, had they remained longer encamped. It had become a necessity, therefore, in regard to military organization, as well as for the health of his troops, that he should march from the fatal locality where he had lost a noble army, and that he should provide for the remnant not merely healthier quarters, but soldierly occupation as well.

Schomberg's inactivity resulted from the over-cautiousness of advanced years. After eighty, the wisdom of the soldier may be valuable in council, but he has lost the energy and the promptitude needed to guide an invading army, and lead it with celerity from point to point, and action to action, so as to encourage his own men, and to dishearten the enemy. He weighs consequences in too nice a balance, and he gains nothing, because he will not risk anything: and hence the delays which proved so ruinous in Schomberg's case;* for, from his landing at Bangor, until the arrival of

* He was so old, that previous to leaving England he had been rallied upon remaining so long in the world, and had wittingly replied, that "an able soldier was always slow in making his retreat."

William, his army did little deserving of notice, except the taking of Carrickfergus and Charlemont; and the whole of the deeds of arms performed by detachments or otherwise, during that period, are of a very minor character and not worthy of record.

Immediately upon the departure of Schomberg's army, the Jacobites took possession of Dundalk, and sent scouring parties to harass his rere. Some unimportant skirmishes were the result. Upon the 26th of November he sent Colonel Cambon to view the garrison of Charlemont, and with him a detachment of sixty dragoons, between whom, and a party of Jacobites who awaited them behind the ditches around the fort, some firing took place, in which three Jacobites were killed, and ten Williamites made prisoners. The report of Cambon had the effect of preventing Schomberg from looking to the garrison until the 12th of December, when he went in person to view it; but being fired upon by the defenders, he retired, taking with him a quantity of cattle which he found grazing around the castle. Nor did he again come before it until the month of May, when he had received reinforcements. This interval was spent in meeting the gentry of the country, settling the prices of provisions, taking care of the sick, and endeavouring to restore discipline to his disorganized masses, and a sense of morality and religion to men whom sickness and death had but hardened in iniquity.* The army was now so thinned, that five regiments were reduced for want

* "But though our army had been much afflicted with sickness and mortality, yet this was little taken notice of by a great many, who gave themselves up to all the wickedness imaginable."—*Storey*, page 52.

of men—namely, the regiments of Lord Drogheda, Colonel Zanchy, Sir Henry Inglesby, Lord Roscommon, and Colonel Hamilton,* and officers were sent over into England to recruit for their empty ranks. After the Williamite army left Dundalk, an attempt was made by the Jacobites to take Newry, but they were beaten off by an inferior force; and early in December, Colonel Wolseley went by night towards Belturbet, when the garrison evacuated the town upon his approach. Upon the 22nd of January, Brigadier Stewart went with a party up into the mountains beyond Newry, burning the cabins of the Irish, and returning with a large number of the cattle of those people, who were thus left homeless and without food, although it does not appear that the people so ruined were enemies,

* Storey gives the following list of Schomberg's army, including those in garrison as well as those in the camp and Dundalk, at the time that Scomberg refused to fight, naming the regiments by their colonels: — Lord Devonshire, Lord Delamere, Lord Hewett, Colonel Coy, Colonel Langston, Colonel Villiers, Sir John Lanier, Duke Schomberg's French, Colonel Wolseley's Iniskilleners, Mr. Harbrod, Capt. Matthew White, Provost Martials, Colonel Heffords, Colonel Levisons, Sir A. Cunninghams, and Colonel Gwyns, making sixteen regiments of cavalry, containing ninety-three troops. The foot consisted of thirty regiments, and were a battalion of blue Dutch, Carleson's White Dutch, Major-General Kirke, Sir John Hanmer, Brigadier Stuart, Colonel Beaumont, Colonel Wharton, Lord Meath, Lord Kingston, Lord Drogheda, Sir Henry Bellasis, Sir Henry Inglesby, Lord Lovelace, then Colonel Zanchy, Lord Roscommon, Lord Lisburn, Colonel Hamilton, Colonel Hastings, Colonel Deering, Colonel Herbert, Sir Thomas Gower, Colonel Earle, La Millincir, du Cambon, La Callimot; and from Enniskillen and Derry—Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, Colonel Lloyde, Colonel White, Colonel Mitchelburne, Colonel St. Johns, Colonel Tiffany. Six of these foot regiments were in garrison.

or had made themselves obnoxious otherwise than that they were not Williamites, and were Irish. Early in February a portion of Lord Drogheda's regiment and others attacked two companies of Jacobite foot near Slieve Gullion, and defeated them, taking many head of cattle; and about the same time Belturbet became an object of attention to both armies, each being led to believe the other was about to march upon it. Colonel Wolseley being at Belturbet, marched from thence with about 700 foot and 300 horse and dragoons* to meet the advancing Jacobites; the latter coming against him consisted of fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse,† under the Duke of Berwick. The Duke of Berwick arrived at Cavan in the evening, and the weather being extremely bad, he halted there for the night, being then within about five miles of Belturbet. He arranged guards for the night, and ordered parties of observation out in the direction of the enemy, whose duty having been inefficiently performed, his army were aroused at daybreak by a cry of "to arms." Wolseley having marched all night, was then within view of the Jacobite outposts. On observing this, Berwick drew his men out upon the heights over the town. The Williamites immediately placed themselves in order of battle, and showed a determined front; but the Jacobites charged them with such energy, that they pushed them down the hill from hedge to hedge; and the Enniskilleners, who were in the front of the fight, retreated in such confusion, and so fast behind the front ranks of the Williamite infantry, that some of Kirke's and Wharton's troops, enraged at their flight, turned and fired upon

* Storey, page 54. † Berwick, page 60.

them, and killed several of them.* The Williamites now charged up the hill in the face of a Jacobite fire, which ranged so high as to pass over their heads, and then, when within pistol shot of them, they discharged their musquets with so effective an aim, that the Jacobites took to flight, and sought shelter in a fort, where, learning that Brigadier Nugent† and many other valuable officers had fallen, they were seized by a sudden panic, and could not be again brought to action by Berwick, who sought to rally them, but finding his efforts fruitless, retreated with his cavalry to a distance of twelve miles from the scene of contest.

Wolseley having gained the town, retired from it with precipitation, partly because his men were becoming insubordinate in the pursuit of plunder, and partly because he feared a repetition of a sally from the foot, which had already destroyed several of his men. Berwick retired through Cavan, and thence to Dublin.

Upon the 15th of February, Sir John Lanier marched upon Dundalk with about a thousand men, but found it so well secured by the Jacobites that he retired without doing anything against the fortified part of the town, and contented himself with burning part of the suburbs, and securing and taking back with him a prey of cattle which he had made.

* Storey.

† The account of the forces, and of the killed in this engagement, is given differently by Storey and Berwick. Berwick states his own force at about 1,700 men, and says Wolseley's force was 3,300; he admits his killed to have been 500, and estimates the Williamites at between two and three hundred men. Storey, on the other hand, says the Williamite force was 1,000, and their losses about thirty, while he estimates the Jacobites at 4,000, and their losses at 300 men.

During this time the Williamites had been so watchful of the approaches to Charlemont as to embarrass the force there by preventing supplies from entering it—Schomberg's intention being rather to starve them out, than to attempt to dislodge them by force, as the fort was esteemed to be of good strength. Calimot and his regiment were in its immediate vicinity ; and as the Jacobites were wont to make excursions from it at night, he resolved to cut down the bridge of Charlemont, which was of wood. The Blackwater, in its neighbourhood, was twelve feet deep. He made his attempt on the 12th of March, in boats, under cover of the night, and succeeded in firing the bridge with the loss of an officer and a few men. Some prisoners, taken in the neighbourhood, reported that the garrison was in want of food, which appears to have been the case. Distress continued to increase, without any effort being made to throw in ammunition or provisions until the second of May, when Colonel Mac Mahon, at the head of about five hundred men, made a night march across the bogs with some ammunition, and a small quantity of provisions. The Williamites having learned that the relief party had succeeded in getting into the fort, lay in wait for their return, and encountered them upon the third night, as they were returning from it, when they were forced to go back again for shelter. A similar attempt to get out on the following night was equally unsuccessful. Schomberg, at this juncture, sent two additional regiments to enforce a strict blockade. Mac Mahon and his men were now placed in a singular difficulty ; they were unable to force their passage back through the superior Williamite

force surrounding them, and O'Regan, who commanded the Jacobite garrison, refused to admit them again within the fort, his provisions being insufficient for the support of so large a force. They had, therefore, to seek shelter under the walls, and there erected their huts with a numerous enemy in front of them, and the gates of the fortress they had come to relieve closed resolutely against them. Schomberg increased the investing force, so that the tents of the Williamite soldiery lay around the castle in every direction to which the besieged looked for succour or escape, while mortars and heavy cannon were placed upon all parts commanding the beleaguered garrison.

When Schomberg first summoned them to surrender the fort, O'Regan defied him as an old rogue who should not get it ; but want of food and the cravings of his hungry soldiery, from whom all hope was shut out by the immense force now around their walls, compelled him to treat, which he accordingly did on the 12th of May, in terms as remarkable for the concessions granted by Schomberg, who considered it of great importance to possess the fort, as for the tone of one of the articles, which implied, upon O'Regan's part, a scrupulous clinging to a vain hope of what forty-eight hours from the signing of articles might achieve for his garrison. He stipulated to surrender upon the 14th, provided one month's provision for 800 men was not got into him in the interval between signing the articles and the hour and day named for the surrender, implying thereby his resolution to face the whole Williamite force if he had but food for his soldiers. But the 14th came and the hope was unfulfilled; no food appeared, and Charlemont fell into the hands of Schomberg without waste of either ball or life.

The gallant little garrison marched out with drums beating, and colours flying, with matches, ball, and powder, baggage and horses. They came out with heads erect, as soldiers should, but in such ragged attire, that the Dutch soldiers marvelled if they were savages. They consisted of eight hundred men. who formed two battalions, protecting in the centre about two hundred women and children, the sharers of their affections, and the willing participators in their sufferings and their hunger; for the garrison had been so far reduced, that in the fort there was found but a small portion of filthy meal, and a few pounds of tainted beef; and as the soldiers marched out, they were devouring rabidly unshorn cow-hides,* most unequivocal evidence of their resolute devotion to a hopeless cause. The garrison was found to be exceedingly strong, surrounded with pallisades, ditch, and counterscarp, well flanked at all points, and with many bastions; the walls thick, and but two approaches over well protected draw-bridges. Within its magazines were found eighty-three barrels of powder, bombs, grenades, match and bullet, and a quantity of small arms; and upon its walls were one large mortar and seventeen guns, mostly all brass.

It was an oversight upon the part of the Jacobites, not to have well provisioned so strong and so important a place; but there were great difficulties in doing it after Schomberg got into the neighbourhood. Had it been in a condition to hold out, without the scarcity

* "They had left no provisions in the castle but a little dirty meal, and part of a quarter of musty beef, and certainly they were reduced to great necessity, for as they marched along, several of them were chawing and feeding very heartily upon pieces of dried hides, with hair and all on."—*Storey*, page 63.

which it endured, the resolute eight hundred men, who could feed on beef-skins, and who had their wives* within its walls, would have given Schomberg some trouble before he got it.

Upon the same day that the Williamites took possession of Charlemont, Colonel Wolseley marched, with twelve hundred men, against the Castle of Bellingargy, which was held by two hundred Jacobites; and after some smart firing, in which he lost three officers and seventeen men, besides forty-three wounded, the garrison surrendered. The same officer had previously, in the month of April, taken the Castle of Killeshandra, which held one hundred and sixty Jacobites, and where Wolseley's forces were permitted to come so close, that they fired through the spike-holes in upon the defenders, and mined beneath its walls.†

During this time, reinforcements were pouring in from England to the Williamite army. The Prince

* Schomberg said there was more of love than policy in having so many women in the garrison; but the presence of these women would have made their husbands resist to the last, sooner than risk them. Storey describes the women as "wives and mistresses;" but the latter word is a mistake, it implies a licentiousness very military, but very un-Irish in those days, and more especially upon that occasion, for with those women were Catholic priests, according to Storey's own account, and their presence guaranteed morality.

† "He marched that night to Killyshandra, and that night, under the ditches and hedges, approached within half musket-shot of the castle, and his miners made their approaches and finished their mine under the court-wall of the castle, by ten o'clock next day. The enemy knowing this, about two o'clock capitulated, and he sent them under a guard to the fort of Cavan, yet in the Irish hands, with their arms and baggage."—*Rawdon Papers*, page 322.

of Wittemburg, with a large mass of infantry, came from Chester, and a body of Danes from Whitehaven, while supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothes arrived daily. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who commanded a convoy to Belfast, upon the 12th of April, having learned that a frigate and some small merchant vessels were riding in the Bay of Dublin, resolved upon the 18th, which was Good Friday, to proceed thither, and seize them accordingly. The frigate lay at Polebeg, and when the Williamite fleet approached it, Captain Bennett, who commanded it, with a crew of about forty men, and having on board sixteen guns* and four patteraroes, ran her ashore, and commenced a brisk fire upon the Williamite vessels, but a fire-ship being sent upon the frigate, he had to desert her. King James, who viewed the action from Ringsend, surrounded by a numerous body of useless foot soldiers, but without the cannon or the ships which would have enabled him to give any assistance, must have felt deeply mortified; and fully conscious of the feebleness of his power to resist the well-equipped enemy now about to meet him in the field. In that action he might have seen foreshadowed the inevitable fate of his cause in Ireland.

* Storey, page 59.

CHAPTER IX.

WILLIAM THE THIRD IN IRELAND.

WILLIAM landed at Carrickfergus, upon the 14th of June, 1690. He was accompanied to Ireland by Prince George, together with the Duke of Ormonde, Earl of Oxford, Earl of Portland, Earl of Scarborough, Earl of Manchester, and the Lords Overkirke and Sidney, with a large number of officers and volunteers. He remained at Belfast until the 19th, and while there busied himself in making regulations for the army, and in receiving addresses from the clergy and gentry. Amongst those presented to him upon that important occasion was the celebrated Governor of Derry, the Rev. George Walker, who was introduced to him by the Dukes of Ormond and Schomberg. William began many reforms in the conduct of the army, which had been neglected under Schomberg. He peremptorily forbade the plundering and wasting of the country, which had been hitherto practised; he compelled the soldiery to pay for everything they got, and would not allow them to press those horses of the peasantry which came with provisions about the camps and garrisons; and when his orders were not as promptly executed as he wished, he declared angrily he would have things otherwise, and "that he did not come there to let the grass grow under his feet;" which expression may have been intended as a

rebuke to Schomberg, with whose delays he was most probably dissatisfied.

The army were now ordered into the field, and an encampment was formed at Loughbritland. Parties of observation were ordered along the roads leading south, in the direction of Dundalk and Drogheda, and some encounters took place between them and similar parties detached from the Jacobite army, who were encamped near Dundalk. The Jacobites contrived to surprise a party of 200 Williamites, at a place called half-way bridge, between Newry and Dundalk. The Williamites were commanded by Captains Crow and Farlow, and were most of them cut off, the latter officer being made prisoner. The Jacobites were commanded by Colonels Fitzgerald and Dempsey. Colonel Dempsey died of the wounds he received upon the occasion ; but the success of the surprise so elated the Jacobites, that they were urgent in their desires for a general engagement. Upon the 24th the Williamite camp broke up, and the entire army moved in the direction of the Jacobite encampment, and on the 27th encamped about a mile south of Dundalk. The Jacobite army, upon the same date, made a retrograde movement as far as Dunblane, and on the 28th crossed the Boyne river, and encamped upon its banks. On the 30th of June, which was the Sabbath, the Williamite army marched, in three lines, through Ardee, and, as the road lay within view of the sea coast, they had the gratifying prospect of beholding their fleet of gallant vessels sailing unopposed towards Drogheda—a sight as exhilarating to them as it must have been depressing to the Jacobites, who, from the hills of their encampment, beheld their enemies press-

ing them southward, while they were also masters of the sea. It was on that memorable march that William, beholding the richness of the country he passed through, and the beauties which surrounded him, made the memorable declaration*—"This is a country worth fighting for;" perhaps the most exciting speech which could be addressed to an invading army by the sovereign, who, if he won, was most likely to reward his soldiery with some of the wealth now lying in a rich, harvest luxuriance around them. Upon the night of the 30th, William's army lay within eight miles of the Boyne, and by the first light next morning, the whole was once more in motion, and marching in the direction of the Jacobites, who, it was well known, intended to dispute the passage of that river.†

The army which James now held together, to resist his enemies in marching towards Dublin, had been but a fortnight mustering into their quarters. He did not leave Dublin until the 16th of June, and it was after that date that most of the army, who now formed his camp, had assembled in that neighbourhood. The army on which depended his sole hopes of success, and which was, in fact, the only support left to him, save the sympathy of the poor and ill-treated Irish, consisted of twenty thousand men.‡ Six thou-

* Storey, page 72.

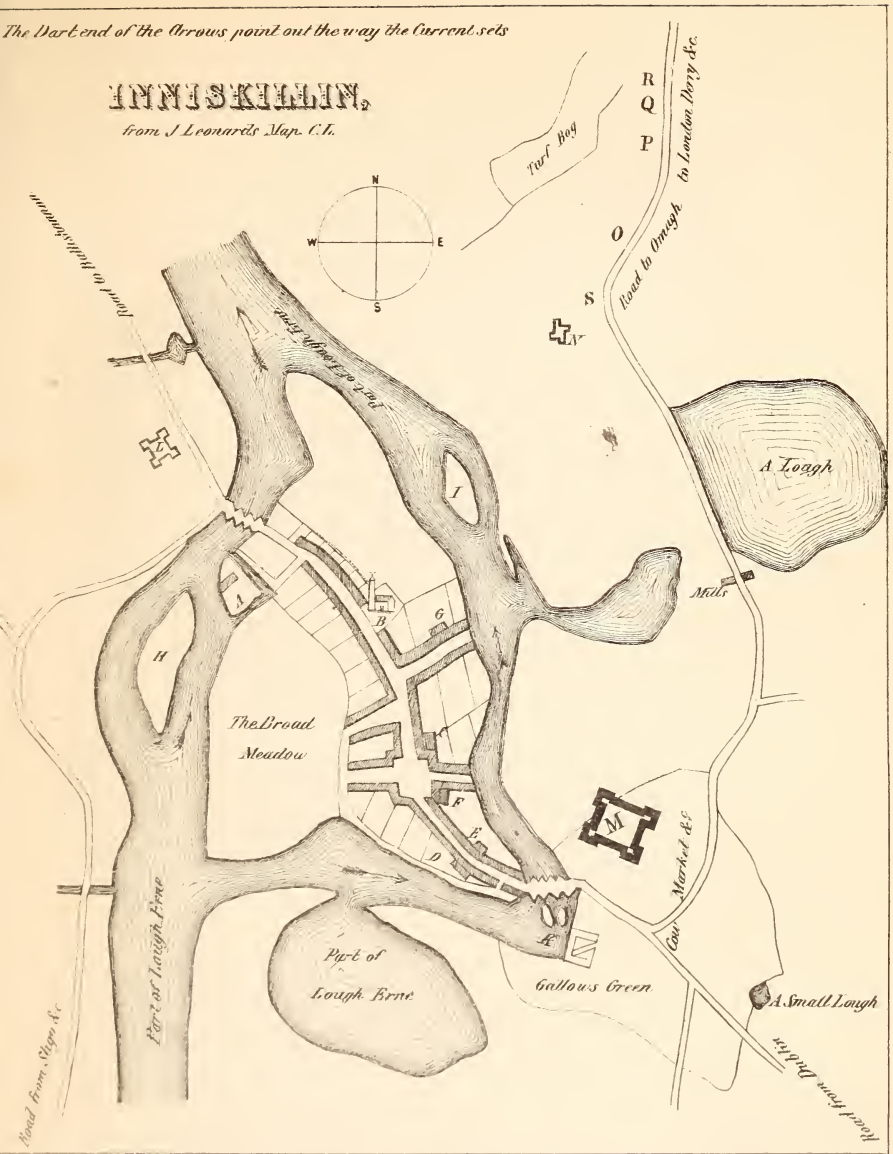
† Just one month before the battle of the Boyne, Dan Golborne wrote to Sir Arthur Rawdon: "It is also reported that King James has drawn down all his forces towards the Boyne, upon which he makes his encampment, and fortifies all passes; and on this river purposes to make his defence."—*Rawdon Papers*, page 325. May 31, 1690.

‡ James so states it himself in *Clarke's Memoir*, vol. ii. page

sand of those were the troops sent over by the French king, half* of whom were French, and the rest made up of Danes, Swedes, Germans, and some English,

393. And there is such an air of truth in all his statements, as to make him authoritative in all questions of statistics relating to his own army at least. Storey, who estimated them on report, says, at page 98 : "Some of their own officers call them five and twenty and others seven and twenty thousand;" and he tells that a deserter from the Jacobites, the day before, said they were 25,000; but he mentions at page 70, that upon the 23rd of June, a week before the battle, William was informed by two ensigns, who deserted from James's camp, that their army, then marching from Dundalk to the Boyne, was about 20,000, which tallies with James's own statement, and being from officers, is more likely to be correct than mere rumour, or the report of a common soldier. It might be, too, that the garrison of Drogheda were estimated as part of the army, though not engaged in the fight. The Duke of Berwick, at page 63 of his memoir, says—"The enemy had five and forty thousand and we were only twenty-three thousand." Now the garrison of Drogheda, if added to this number, would make the Jacobite army about twenty-five thousand men. O'Kelly, in the *Macariæ Excidium*, does not give the exact numbers, but he says that James "advanced from Dublin with these few forces on the 16th day of the 4th month (old style) to meet an enemy who had double his number, and whose troops were in much better order and discipline," page 47 of *O' Callaghan's Translation*. Storey, who estimated James's army at only 25,000, admits William's army to have been 36,000 men; his words are:—"On the 27th we marched through Dundalk, and encamped about a mile beyond it, where the whole army joined, English, Dutch, Danes, Germans, and French, making in all not above 36,000, though the world called us a third part more. But the army was, in all respects, as well provided as any kingdom in the world ever had one for the number of men."—*Impartial History*, page 70.

* "James says 6000 men," in Clarke's Memoir, vol. ii., page 387. M'Gill says, "that 5,500 landed at Cork from France about the 14th of March." They brought with them 2,000 casks of powder, 8,000 arms, about twenty field pieces, a million and a-half of crowns in copper money (coined at Brest, of King



EXPLANATION.

A The Castle formerly surrounded by a Canal.
B The Church and Churchyard
C The Barracks for two Companies of Foot
D The Session House and Jail
E The Meeting House
F The Market House at the Diamond
G The Free School
H The Salty Island
I The Cherry Island
K The small Island of Inniskillin from whence the town is named
L A Sod Fort on the Wind Mill Hill now in Ruins
M A Sod Fort in the Cow Market easily repaired
N The Castle of Cornegrade now a Farmers House
S.O.P.Q.R. A Field wherein a party of Inniskillmers were defeated by the Duke of Berwick

Scotch, and Irish. The remainder of his forces were Irish, and nearly all newly raised regiments; but they were ably officered; James being surrounded by most of his best and bravest generals. But in return for the French contingent, he had sent into France five thousand of his veteran Irish soldiers, under the command of Mountcashel. James had applied to France for a larger force,* and had it been sent to him, and had Mountcashel's army remained in Ireland, the fortunes of the Boyne might have been made a success for James. But Louis needed soldiers at home, and having a host of enemies to encounter, sent an insufficient force; and the result was fatal to James's fortunes, and unfortunate for the character and greatness of the French king himself.

William's army, in three divisions, approached the Boyne. Sir John Lanier headed a large body of cavalry, who formed the advance guard, and such was William's impatience to behold the enemy he was to fight, and the ground they had taken up, that by the time the advance guard was within view of the Jaco-

James's stamp), and Mons. Lauzun is their commander."—*Rawdon Papers*, page 316.

* "James had applied, through his agent, Lord Dover, for ten thousand men, besides money, arms, and ammunition. His instructions bear date as far back as the 16th of July, 1689; his written directions are:—'You must endeavour, with all speed, to procure to us 6000 foot of the old troops of our dearest brother, without which our affairs here will be in great danger. For though we have a great number of men, yet they are, for the most part, new and undisciplined, as well the officers as the soldiers, and consequently will be unequally matched with the old troops designed against us.'"—*Macpherson Papers*, page 309, vol. i.

bite camp, he was in front of them, having ridden forward from the head of his division. Then it was that he beheld a sight, which, yet unstirred by soldier shout or cannon shot, unstained by blood or death, might well gladden the heart of him who gazed, and warm, with its glorious beauties, even a colder nature than his. He stood upon a height, and beheld beneath him and beyond him, with the clearness of a map, and the gorgeous beauty of a dream, a view as beautiful as eye can scan, and then doubly beautiful, because the colours of a golden harvest were blended with green fields and greener trees, and a sweet river flowing calmly on in winding beauty through a valley, whose banks rose up gently from its waters, inclining upwards until, in lofty hills, they touched the opposite horizon, bending and undulating into forms of beauty. Stretching along those green banks, in double lines, lay the white tents and waving banners of the Jacobite army, with masses of men stirring to-and-fro, and cavalry careering, and infantry forming into lines and columns, while suttlers were busy with their dealings, and engineers were active with pick and spade casting up entrenchments, and officers, on the look out for the expected enemy, were from the heights looking north to see if yet he came. Between him and that river the ground was broken by hill and vale, and rock and glen, down to the water's edge, where the calm river, moving to the sea, placed its tranquil waters between him and the sovereign he pursued. Above that encampment, and to his right, lay rich meadow lands, and luxuriant fields, waving in a gentle summer breeze, while to his left, to the right of the Jacobite camp, the ancient town of

Drogheda rose between its hills, with its walled boundaries and its garrisoned towers, whereon floated James's flag for yet a little time ; and then, out from Drogheda sloped the sea shore, over which rolled the blue waves, upon whose bosom William beheld his gallant fleet sailing in their strength. Calm, and beautiful, and picturesque, that scene might well touch a soldier's conscience, ere he would disturb the poetry of thought with which it spoke to the soul of coming happy harvest time; of peace, and gentle musings through those glens and by that water side ; of nature, throwing out, in vain, from her bosom, the riches which make men and nations blessed and prosperous, and which, in their workings, evidence the designs of Providence, leading the mind from the contemplation of earthly enjoyments to thoughts of heaven and futurity.

William regarded the scene with the coldness of the diplomatist, and the quickness of an experienced soldier. Its beauties passed unnoted, its riches may have suggested thoughts of confiscation ; its irregularities of surface were well observed, for they were military points to be turned to account—for camp to-night, for battle to-morrow !

When estimating the probable strength of the Jacobite camp, he was accompanied by Dukes Schomberg and Ormond, Count Solmes, Lord Sidney, and Major General Scravemore, who called it "a small army,"* as he could only count about forty-six regiments as constituting the encampment. William now sent parties of horse towards Drogheda, and along

* Storey, page 72.

the road to Slane, and rode down himself to examine the ground and have a nearer view of James's camp and army. Breastworks had been cast up in front of James's right wing, the houses in the neighbourhood of Oldbridge were filled with soldiery, and every ditch and hedge was lined with musqueteers; and as he passed along at the North side of the river, and advanced opposite the left wing of the Irish army, the Dukes of Berwick and Tyrconnel, with Sarsfield, Parker, and Lauzun, rode along upon the opposite side, viewing his arrangements and regulating how he was to be met. And while those rival soldiers were watching each other in the direction of James's left wing, Jacobite soldiers had been trying their guns in the centre upon some of William's dragoons who went down to drink at the water's edge, and who returned the fire. During this time a party of about forty Jacobite cavalry was observed to ride slowly into a ploughed field, upon the height which commanded the spot where William was resting, partaking of some refreshment. The Jacobite cavalry, riding thus slowly, had concealed within their ranks two field pieces, which were carefully planted behind a ditch, and so as to command the Williamite party. The cavalry having remained there for some short time, retired slowly as they came. Presently, William rose from the ground and mounted his horse, and the party began to ride back towards Oldbridge; and as they did, a discharge from one of the Jacobite guns killed two horses and a soldier about one hundred yards above where the king rode. A second ball, directed towards the same object, striking against the bank of the river,

sloped upwards, inflicting a slight flesh wound upon William's right shoulder, and the firing continued upon the party of cavalry, killing several soldiers and horses, until William ordered them to retire and avail themselves of the shelter of a rising ground lying between them and those two pieces. These cannon were so placed and used by order of James,* but the wounding of William appears to have been rather the result of an accidental secondary direction of the ball, than of a special direction against his person ;† but the Jacobites seemed to have some knowledge that he was wounded, for they shouted loudly upon the retiring of his party of cavalry, and a report, then originated, had been circulated even to the Continent, that William was killed. The Williamite cannon now came up, and were planted so as to pitch their ball and shell direct into the Jacobite camp, and amongst the officers standing around James's tent,‡ so that several tents had to be removed out of

* *Vide* Clarke, Berwick, and Macpherson.

† The following anecdote of James's care for William's life is quite in character with many of his acts :—"In 1765, at Sligo, I had seen John O'Brien who had served at the Battle of the Boyne. He was a fine old man, and told me many interesting and circumstantial anecdotes relative to that day. One, that a gunner told King James, that at that very precise moment his gun was so pointed, he could, at a twinkle, end the dispute for the three crowns; but James forbade him; and the nephew and son-in-law were thus saved."—*Recollections of John O'Keefe,* page 149, vol. i.

‡ "One bullet, as we heard afterwards, fell very nigh a crowd of great officers that were at the late king's tent, and killed a horseman that stood sentinel."—*Storey,* page 77. This passage clearly shows that the statement is not true that James remained

their range, and the council meetings changed to another part of the field. William now made all his camp arrangements, fixed his batteries, and placed his army for the night around and at the back of the glen, now known as King William's glen—his outposts on the heights, and the main body of his army behind them, and sheltered by them from the Jacobite guns.

At nine o'clock that night William held a council of war, and declared his resolution to pass the river next morning. Schomberg, ever cautious, at first opposed it, but finding the king resolved, advised that a party should proceed in the dead of the night by Slane, so as to get behind James's army to Duleek, and so cut off his retreat. But the advice was not followed, and if it had been taken, and carried out successfully, the Boyne would have ended the war in Ireland. It was finally arranged that Count Schomberg, son to the Duke, with a body of horse, and General Douglass, with a body of foot, were to march by Slane next morning, and passing the ford to turn the left wing of James's army; while the left wing of the Williamite horse were to pass the river, between James's right wing and Drogheda, and the rest of the

at Donore during the battle. From Storey's statement it is obvious that his tent stood amongst the other tents, and that he was present at the battle is equally conclusive, from the account given of his movements during it. It is not unlikely that he slept in Donore church the night before the battle, but any one who will take the trouble of visiting Donore church, and walking round the hill, will at once perceive the impossibility of his being there during the engagement, for if he were there he could not from it see either the river, its fords, or the lower and most important part of the battle field.

infantry were to force the passage at Oldbridge, and break through James's centre. To Lord George Hambleton was confided the task of supplying guides from the Inniskillen officers who were conversant with the fords, and would direct the several divisions to the passable portions of the river. The soldiers were then ordered to be ready by the first morning light, and at a moment's warning, and as the Jacobite soldiers wore white paper in their hats, the Williamites were directed to put green boughs or sprigs in theirs, so that they might know each other in the thick of the fight. Green was to be, for that day, the Orange emblem.

The council broke up, the soldiers retired to rest for the coming fight; but one restless spirit did not rest, watchful care held him wakeful, and anxious that all should be right for the eventful morning, so big with fate to him; at midnight he surveyed his whole camp, through which he rode, guided by torch-lights, and satisfying himself, by personal observation, that all was well.

In James's camp there was anxious solicitude too; brave men there had to arrange for fight with fearful odds against them; they had to meet an army outnumbering their own by at least 12,000 men, all trained soldiers, well equipped, and with an artillery numbering some fifty pieces. The Jacobite soldiery were ill-armed and ill-disciplined; William's soldiers were veterans in fight, and William's leaders, with few exceptions, were men who, if they lost the battle, lost but a victory, while the majority of James's officers must, in defeat, risk, in addition to life and fame,

their estates and their homes. At James's council Hamilton advised that the great bulk of the cavalry should be sent towards Slane, to prevent the enemy passing there, and the remainder to a ford between the camp and Drogheda, while the foot remained at Oldbridge, for the centre of the fight; but a regiment only of dragoons was sent to Slane, being that of Sir Neale O'Neale, with orders to defend the pass as long as he was able, the bulk of the army being still kept in the central ground they were encamped upon. It was decided, too, to remove the baggage,* and six of the twelve pieces of cannon they had from the immediate encampment, and to be in readiness for moving to Dublin, a proceeding which risked the courage of the whole army, by implying a fear of being beaten, and a preparation for flight. These arrangements being made, James is said to have taken up his quarters for the night in the little chapel on the top of Donore hill,† whose ruins still crown that little

* James gives as a reason for this movement, that it was to clear the ground.—*Vide Clarke's Life of James*, vol. i. page 395.

† The little church, of which not much more than the gable and some twelve inches in height of surrounding wall now remain, is picturesquely seated on the very top of the hill, while over it wave, with a mournful air, the outspread branches of some aged trees, making it an object of observation visible from all the surrounding heights, in the midst of which it stands proudly isolated. The little churchyard around it is bounded by a high thorn ditch, and the centre of the ground is thickly planted with rural graves, and some ancient tombs; one of those, a table tomb, fills up the end of the church close to the east window, and from the age inscribed upon it, it was there when James slept within its walls, and may have been his table or held his midnight lamp. The inscription upon it is in large raised letters, and it is impos-

eminence, and if he did rest there amid the tombs and the graves of the dead, his night must have been one of meditation, rather than of sleep.

sible to stand or move within the limited precincts of the chapel without reading it. It must have stared James with sad presages all that night, and helped to depress him for the coming fight :—

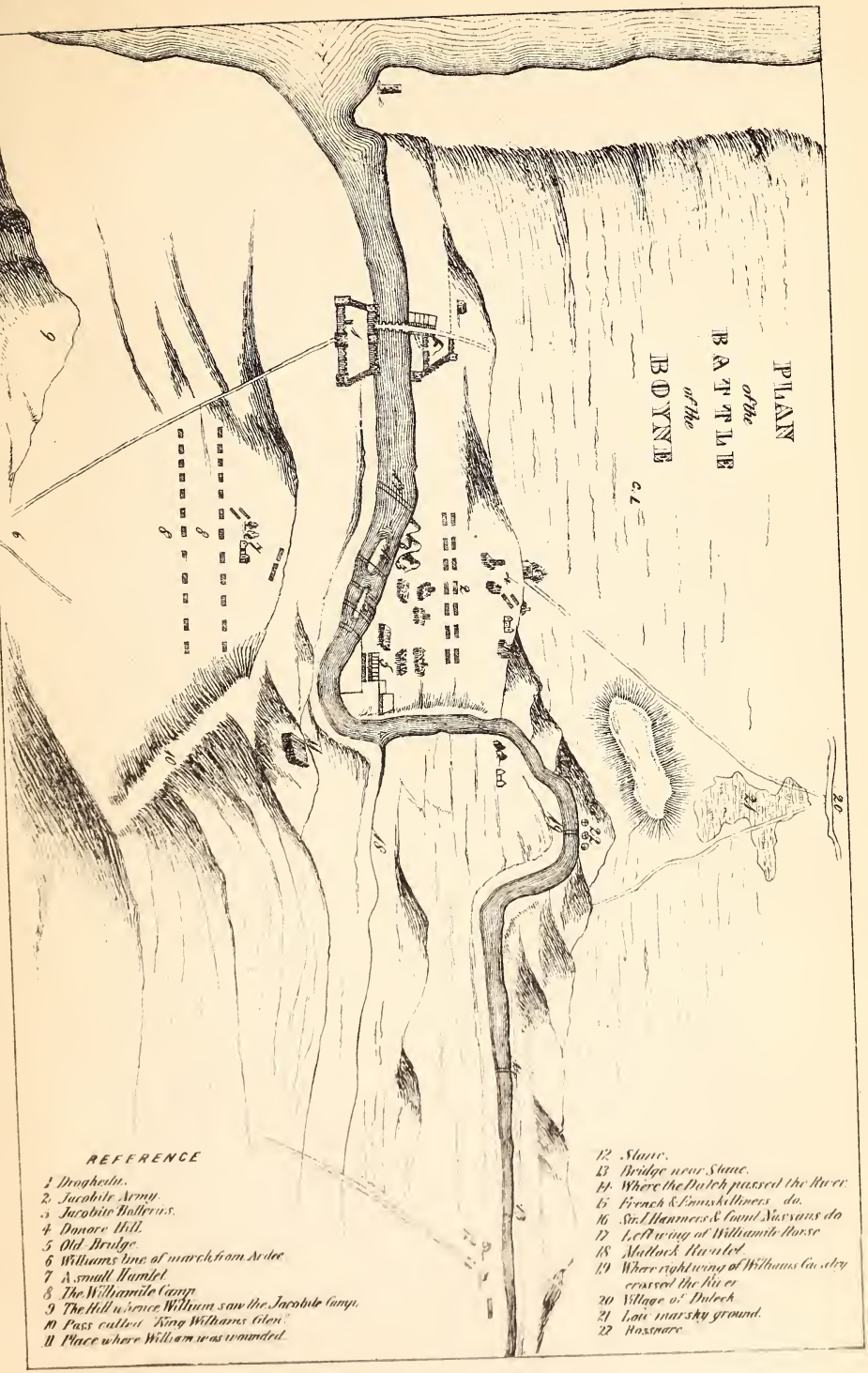
> "All ye mortals, who on this earth draw breath
> In health, prepare for the certain hour of death."

CHAPTER X.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

A GLORIOUS July day, with its broad bright sun in the heavens ; and as its light streamed out from above the eastern hills, the Jacobites were aroused in their tents by the Williamite drums and bugles sounding the *generale.* Both camps were now stirring, and soon the Jacobites beheld the long line of cavalry and infantry that defiling from behind the opposite hills, and mustering ten thousand men, now marched along the Slane road, and in a direction to awake an apprehension that the weight of the fight would be made upon the left wing of the Jacobite army. The right wing of the Williamites was led on by Count Schomberg, who was general of horse, Lieutenant General Douglass, the Lords Portland and Overkierke and Brigadier Trilauney ; and had with them five* field pieces of cannon. This force crossed at Slane and at fords nearer to Oldbridge. Upon their reaching the Jacobite side of the water they were encountered by Sir Neale O'Neale at the head of his dragoons, about five hundred

* That Trilauney was with this body of troops, and that they had five pieces of cannon with them, is not mentioned by the usual writers, Storey, Clarke, &c., but it is given in the life of James II., by D. Joseph Xerico, published at Madrid in 1746, and wherein young Schomberg is designated Count Menard, son of Marshall Schomberg. Those are the cannon which late in the day were used against the Irish at Duleek.



W.M.Mirren, Lith.

in number, who disputed their passage for a full hour, and until the left wing of James, which he ordered up towards Slane to the assistance of the dragoons, came up with cannon, by which time the dragoons were sadly thinned, and their Colonel Sir Neale O'Neale killed. This timely reinforcement, however, enabled the remnant to retire in tolerable order towards Duleek. This movement of the entire left wing of the Jacobite army in the direction of Slane was under the command of Count Lauzun and was directed by James, under the impression that, if beaten on the left, he would be not only outflanked, but cut off from Dublin. When ordering this march he directed six pieces of cannon up after them, and the remaining six to be taken with the baggage in the direction of Dublin—an arrangement which left him without any artillery upon the immediate field of action, while his forces there were exposed to the strong fire of the numerous Williamite batteries raised upon the heights on the opposite side of the river, and which continued to pour a constant discharge upon the Jacobite soldiery, until the Williamites had crossed the water, and it was no longer safe to fire from their batteries, because the conflicting troops were then hand to hand. The left wing of the Jacobites, in their movement towards Slane, suffered severely under this constant cannonade, to which they could make no reply ; but though their ranks thinned under it, they held on* steadily and in good order to the end of their march. The Williamites,

* "And in their march our cannon played continually upon them, yet, though we killed several, it did not disorder their troops."—*Storey*, page 79.

who now attempted to turn James's left, found great difficulties in the nature of the ground, which was broken up into corn fields, with numerous ditches and dykes for boundaries, and with a large and difficult bog lying between them and the Jacobites. The Williamite infantry were now ordered to face the Jacobites through the bog, while the entire of the cavalry were extended in long line to the right of it, and in the direction of Duleek, completely outflanking the entire Jacobite army. The Jacobite infantry, believing they were not merely outnumbered, but about to be turned by the cavalry from the rere, wavered and fled. Count Schomberg hung upon their flight with deadly effect. De Lauzun made all necessary attempts to rally and reform his foot ;* his best disciplined troops, French and Swiss, holding gallantly together, he drew out his men in the direction of the enemy, so as to run his line parallel to theirs, and be ready to face them if they came near enough. King James, who at this period of the fight was near to the left wing, now rode down to Oldbridge† with a view to bring up the forces there to what he conceived

* There is a statement which appears to be but a rumour, that Lauzun, when he saw the Irish infantry under his command fly, ordered the French troops to fire after them. The author of the *Histoire de Revolution d'Irelande* printed at Amsterdam, 1691, mentions it at page 131, but only as a rumour.

† The statement that James stayed during the battle at Donore Church has been already pointed to as an absurdity, inasmuch, as the great portion of the field would be invisible to him there, but he himself tells us where he was, and whatever were his faults, whenever he writes of facts, there is an air of truth about him which must convince the most sceptical; besides, if he really were not upon the field, and riding between the left wing and

to be the principal point of action, and where he considered he was encountering the whole, or nearly the whole of the Williamite army—a grievous and fatal mistake of which he was disabused at Oldbridge, where he found Tyrconnel and the troops stationed there with such prospect of work before them, that he had to return to Lauzun, without the assistance he had hoped to bring with him.

While these events were taking place at the Slane end of the field of the Boyne, and upon the extreme left of James's lines, the remainder of William's plan was being carried into execution at Oldbridge, and at the fords below it, and near to Drogheda. William was limited in time for crossing at Oldbridge road nearer to Drogheda, because by ten o'clock the tide would have been coming in, and the river, rendered more swollen thereby, would have deepened the water of the fords. He was therefore anxiously waiting from six o'clock for intelligence that Douglass and Count Schomberg had passed with their troops at Slane, and engaged the left wing of James; their doing so was sure at least to diminish the number of Jacobites at Oldbridge and its fords, and so far facilitate his passage with the main body of his army. He had already witnessed the left wing of James drawn off towards Slane, and as his cannon poured shot thick and heavy

Oldbridge, as he describes, his falsehood would have long since had a positive refutal. His words are, "The king went to the right to hasten up the troops to follow Lauzun . . . but when the king came up he found the Duke of Tyrconnel with the right wing of horse and dragoons, and the two first brigades of the first line, drawn up before Oldbridge."—*Vide Clarke's Memoirs*, vol. ii. page 396.

upon them, he saw half his plan achieved ; and now, when the news reached him about ten o'clock, that his right wing were not only passed, but were actually engaged with the extreme of James's left, his orders were promptly issued for throwing the whole weight of his army upon James's right and centre. His men, standing to their arms behind the hills opposite Oldbridge, now issued from the glen and from hehind its hills, the drums beating a stirring march until they came to the water's edge, when the music ceased and the men plunged into the river. The Flemish foot-guards crossed first under the guidance of Duke Schomberg and Calimotte ;* lower down the Danes went over with the brigades of Hanmer and La Meloniere ; while, nearer still to Drogheda, the left wing of the cavalry, being Dutch and Danes, with Colonel Wolsley's horse, passed the river.†

The Jacobites knew that an attempt would be made to pass at Oldbridge and the fords thereabouts, and had accordingly left troops posted there for their defence. Oldbridge was left in charge of the Duke of Berwick with the right wing of the cavalry, and Lieutenant-General Hamilton‡ with eight battalions of infantry. The Duke of Tyrconnel's foot-guards, with others, occupied the farm-houses and ditches in that locality, while seven regiments of foot-soldiers were placed about one hundred and fifty yards from the river, under cover of some hills which sheltered them from William's cannon, which from the opposite heights commanded all the open fields within their range.

* Histoire de la Revolution d'Irelande, page 128.
† Storey, page 82. ‡ Berwick, vol. i. page 64.

Along with those infantry were posted four troops of Tyrconnel's* horse, four of Parker's, and some of the guards.

Such were the arrangements adopted to resist the passage of the river, when the blue Dutch, ten abreast, rushed into its waters in so close and dense a mass, that speedily filling its bed, and stopping its flow, the water rose above their waists, so that they had to hold their weapons above their heads. A little lower down two French regiments, and that of Colonel St. John, passed in a similar manner. It was a moment of anxious suspense; the firing had ceased, and no noise came upon the ear but the sound of the breaking waters, and the voices of officers and soldiers encouraging each other; and just as the wading troops had gained the centre of the river, a heavy Jacobite fire broke on them from the ditches and covers beyond them. Still they held their way, reserving their fire until they would be within range of a visible enemy, and as they reached the opposite bank, five battalions of Jacobite pikemen,† rushing from behind their entrenchments, sought with their spears to prevent their landing. The Williamites, still struggling through the water, but close to the opposing foe, now levelled their musquets, and poured so deadly a fire amongst them that they rushed for shelter behind the nearest ditch, while the ground became covered with numerous soldiery, who, rushing from their ambuscade, infantry with quick step, and cavalry galloping, as if summoned by magic from the bosom of the

* Storey, page 79.

† Revolution d'Irelande, page 129.

earth, they sought to beat back the Williamites, who, dripping with water, struggled steadily to the banks and gained the firm earth. It was just then that the gallant Hamilton sought to bring his ill-trained troops to the charge; cheering them on, he rushed at the head of a division of them into the very river,* meeting the Williamites there, and, at the same moment, giving orders to have Antrim's regiment to flank Hanmer's and Nassau's regiments, passing lower down; but his men disobeyed, wavered and fled. As they turned, a squadron of Jacobite horse came down so determinately that they passed right through the regiment of Callimotte, breaking it and killing Callimotte himself, who was speedily avenged, for as they turned to wheel back from the river bank, a heavy Dutch and Enniskillen fire left their horses to gallop riderless over the fields. The Williamite forces were now fast accumulating upon the Jacobite side of the river, repeated attempts to resist them were made at the heads of cavalry divisions, by Berwick, Tyrconnel,† and Hamilton; all that brave men could do they did, but superior numbers of better equipped and better disciplined troops overpowered and compelled them to a progressive and steady loss of ground. In one of these attacks a spirited cavalry charge, headed by Richard Hamilton, drove a regiment of Danes with such haste back into the water, that they rested not until they stood once more upon the opposite banks‡

* Storey, page 80.

† The enemy's horse, of Tyrconnel, behaved themselves well, but our Dutch like angels."—See *Bellingham's Manuscript*, quoted in D'Alton's Drogheda, and Wilde's Boyne Water.

‡ Storey, page 81.

which they had so recently marched from. It was at this period of the fight that Duke Schomberg was killed. He had gone over immediately in the rere of the regiment of La Mellionere, which was the first of the Dutch that crossed the river, and had reached the village of Oldbridge, having driven the Jacobites up the rising ground, and from the river. Just then a portion of Tyrconnel's regiment returned, and charged La Mellionere's regiment with such impetuosity that they passed right through all of them that had won the land, and came to the water's edge, in returning from which they made a detour in the direction of the village, and there encountered the duke, and as they passed him, he received two sabre wounds in the head, and finally a bullet in the neck, when he instantly expired without a sound. It is still a debatable point whether he was killed by the Tyrconnel guards or by one of La Mellionere's soldiers, who were firing after the Jacobites, and in the direction where Schomberg stood.*

* The following is the account given in the Revolution d'Irelande, which is evidently the work of a Dutch Williamite who had been at the battle of the Boyne:—"It unfortunately happened that the Earl of Tyrconnel's guards, being seized with fury, and wishing to display the courage of despair, return suddenly to the charge, and with fearful impetuosity break and pierce the regiment of La Mellionere, pass quite through it, and precipitate themselves forward, to prevent the landing of those who were still in the water; but inasmuch as however great might have been their activity and bravery, the most of them were quickly killed, those who survived wishing to extricate themselves from a position where the carnage was so great, made a slight detour, and in their circuitous retreat passed close to the village where Marshal Schomberg was. Unfortunately they met the marshal; they gave him two sabre cuts on the head, and after that (as report goes)

William and the Prince of Denmark had passed over with their left wing of cavalry; and just as he reached the bank, his horse got bogged, and he had to get another; but he was speedily at the head of his

discharged a pistol shot at him. However it is certain, as all in the regiment of La Mellionere know, that as soon as the regiment saw Tyrconnel's guards pushing forward towards the village, the officers gave orders to fire in that direction, and everywhere near the village the cry was 'kill! kill!' (*tue! tue!*); so that in this juncture, as numbers fired upon the guards of Tyrconnel, and pursued them, a chance shot might have taken effect, and hit the duke. At all events, this great man was killed on the occasion by a ball which pierced his neck, and while he was displaying such brilliant proofs of his courage and bravery. After he had received the ill-omened shot, he quietly expired, without being able to utter a single word, in the arms of some friends who happened to be near his person."—*Vide* page 130.

Storey says:—"Some say that our own men, firing too hastily when the duke was before them, shot him themselves."—page 82.

"Schomberg had English blood in his veins. His father, Count Schomberg, who was killed at the battle of Prague in 1620, being married to a daughter of Lord Dudley. Schomberg was born in 1608, consequently was 82 years old when killed at the Boyne. He had served in Holland, Portugal, and France; and, though a Protestant, had won a marshal's baton in the latter country, where he had earned a name next to that of Conde and Turenne. When his religion became an object of persecution in that country, he left it, and came to England; but before coming over he had secured the confidence of William in Holland; and being invited by the Elector of Brandenburgh to Berlin, he was made Governor of Prussia and Generalissimo of his armies. When the Prince of Orange was about to invade England, Schomberg got permission to accompany him, and William rejoiced in obtaining the services of so able a general—one before whom he had himself been obliged to retire from the siege of Maestreche. He was a very elegant-looking man, greatly respected for his wisdom, as well as for his valour. Callimotte, who had followed his fortunes, won death beside him."—*Vide Harris's Life of William III.*, page 270.

men. The Jacobites were now heavily pressed. William's centre and left were driving their right and centre up from the river and on to the heights, while the left of the Jacobites were retiring before Douglass's division higher up the battle field. Tyrconnel, Berwick, and Hamilton were using every effort to maintain their ground at Oldbridge, and ever as their troops were pressed back, they rallied and turned to charge again.* William's cavalry being now all over the river, he brought them to the support of the centre, and sent further detachments on to his right. The Jacobites, no longer able to stand at Oldbridge, fled up to Donore Hill, William, with the Dutch and Enniskilleners, in quick pursuit of them; but just as they reached the hill, the Jacobites turned, and made a last desperate charge, pouring down with such impetuosity that the Williamite cavalry, though headed by their king, turned, and fled. Then it was that William appealed to the Enniskilleners, and asked them what they would do for him; they responded to his call, and at their head he again advanced, and having received the fire of the Jacobites, he turned to the left, out of his men's way, to allow them to fire; but they blundered,† and instead of advancing, turned after him, and lost their position by about one hundred yards before they discovered their mistake; meantime William headed an advancing party of Dutch, and the Enniskillen men fell in with him again. The Jacobites were forced beyond Donore. The Williamites took possession of two of James's

* "We charged and re-charged ten times."—*Berwick*, vol. i. page 64.

† Storey, page 83.

standards ; but the Jacobites had a loss of more consequence in the person of Richard Hamilton, who, wounded and unsupported, fell a prisoner into the hands of his enemies. While this fight with James's centre and right wing was taking place, from the banks of the Boyne at Oldbridge and on up the heights to Donore Hill, James was with Lauzun and the left wing higher up the river, encountering William's right, and endeavouring to so stretch their lines in a direction perpendicular to the river as to prevent the Williamites from outflanking them, James having brought up to Lauzun's assistance the reserve force consisting of Purcell's horse and Browne's foot, under the command of Sir Charles Carny. Lauzun was within half cannon shot of the Williamites; but the ground between them and him was terribly broken by bog, dyke, and ditch. James expected the weightiest portion of the battle there, and wished to defer a regular engagement at that point until he should be reinforced by his right and centre from Oldbridge so soon as they had beaten back the Williamites at that point. While he was occupied with this delusion, an aide-de-camp rode up, and gave him the sad news that his forces at Oldbridge and on the right were beaten. His chief hope was now to give battle to William's right, and he arranged with Lauzun to that effect;* but Sarsfield and Maxwell, who had ridden over to examine the ground between the two forces, now came up, and informed him it was impracticable for the cavalry to charge the Williamites, in consequence of a double ditch with a brook and high banks which lay between them, while the Williamites

* Clarke's Life of James, page 397, vol. ii.

now altered their position, and began to move by their right in the direction of Duleek and the Dublin road. His last hope was to reach that point before them, and turning by his left, he commenced a rapid march in the same direction. And now his whole army were in full retreat, their backs turned to the Boyne and to the Williamites, all rushing for Duleek, the troops from Oldbridge inclining by their right, and his troops by their left to that point, which was distant from Donore Hill about four miles.

But the battle had been decided before they left the line of hills parallel with Donore church, between which and the river the engagement took place, and where, at one time, the Williamites were so pressed that Ginckle had to keep at the rere of his division,* to prevent his men retreating.

James lost in this battle some of his best officers: Hamilton was made a prisoner—and amongst some fifteen hundred soldiers slain, were Lord Dongan,† the Marquis de Hoquencour, Sir Charles Tate, Lord Car-

* Storey, page 83.

† Colonel Dongan, son to the Earl of Limerick, belonged to a family who had won a chivalrous name in the wars of France, Spain, and Portugal. O'Callaghan gives an interesting account of them in his History of the Irish Brigade, and it is there mentioned that the Jacobite army in their retreat from the Boyne to Dublin, having secured the body of Dongan, and carried it to one of his family mansions, they halted to give a soldier's burial to the gallant colonel. I cannot find what Lord Dongan's age might have been, but as his father, then living, was an aged man, it is probable he was of adult years. There is mention made in a curious old History of Portugal, translated by Stevens, from the Spanish of Emanuel de Faria-y Sousa, London, 1698, of a Colonel Walter Dongan, who fought at Badajos, against French and Portuguese, in 1658; the passages are: "The Irish were commanded by Colonel Walter Dongan, who was afterwards Earl of Limerick," * * and

lingford, Monsieur d'Amarde, and officers in lesser command, as Arundel, Ashton, Fitzgerald, Powell, Vaudrey, Parker, Green, and Dodington.

The retreat on to Duleek was conducted with consummate skill ; had it been otherwise the slaughter had been vastly greater. The Lord Galmoy* was said to have regulated it, but it resulted from the combined actions of Lauzun, Tyrconnel, and Berwick, the two latter keeping at the head of the cavalry, and Lauzun at the head of the French foot, for to the Irish cavalry and the French foot the success of the retreat was mainly owing. The conduct of the Jacobite officers in that engagement was remarkable for its daring and its courage, their determined efforts to bring up their men, over and over again, to the fight, their resolute leading on and heading their almost hopeless charges, prolonged a fight which else had been decided within an hour, while the number of them who fell and were wounded shows where their position had been during the hottest parts of the battle; it was only such desperate bravery that could have held out for a day against such odds as William mustered, in his veteran army, to fight the small and ill-disciplined mass opposing his passage, and opposing it with such inferior numbers as those, nearly all raw and unseasoned troops, ill-armed and without cannon.

The Jacobites, now driven from the field of the Boyne, pushing along in a dense mass from Donore

"Colonel Dungan who commanded there (Fort St. Michael) defended it with extraordinary bravery, till it was no longer tenable, and then surrendered it upon articles, when the besiegers had lost 1,800 men before it."—Pages 496 and 497.

* *Vide* Storey.

and its neighbouring heights, and fleeing to Duleek, beheld the waters of the Boyne and the green fields of Ulster for the last time, and as they turned to look upon the fierce and thirsting foe, who pressed with spear * and sword upon their rere, with the dread of death came all the saddening thoughts of lost home and country, and in their hearts and eyes may have arisen pictures of ruined chapels and deserted villages, preys to the invaders who were henceforth to possess their lands and homesteads. It was a joyous triumph to the Williamites, but the Jacobites, who lost it, had more than a defeat to sorrow over.

James and his scattered troops fled with wild precipitation on to Duleek, a race of four miles, in the heat of a July evening, whose hot sun shot down its ripening rays in vain upon the rich corn trodden into the earth beneath their feet, and at every turn dyed with their blood. For William's cavalry having now united with his right wing, followed with a deadly energy upon the heels of the flying mass, and as feeble stragglers halted at the ditch, or fell weakly, or shrunk timidly† for shelter in the corn trenches, a Williamite pike, sword, or bullet, drank their blood. Thus it is ever in great battles, those who flee are in most danger, and the bulk of slaughter is not so much in the fight as in the retreat, where the blow comes from above or from behind, and is ever fatal. But the whole of the retreat was not a flight, the Jacobites

* The bayonet was not introduced into England until three years after the battle of the Boyne, and in the year 1693.

† "Few or none of the men escaped that came into their hands, for they shot them like hares amongst the corn, and in the hedges as they found them in their march."—*Storey*, page 85.

contrived to bring off their five pieces of cannon, one being lost in a bog, and to protect them with both cavalry and infantry; while the pursuing Williamites had their artillery too, being the pieces which had been taken over at Slane in the morning. As the fleeing mass approached Duleek, the way became more difficult, and the pursuers of the routed army had new obstacles to encounter; there the high road passes over a small rivulet, which, in the rainy season, was wont to enlarge into a river, and to overflow its banks, thereby rendering the surrounding low ground marshy in many places, constituting that soft and yielding earth called bog, over which no horses can travel, and where human feet must move with peculiar care and agile gentleness, else they sink and are lost. Having reached this point the Irish infantry had the advantage of their foreign pursuers, they were familiar, by constant exercise over such grounds, with the mode of passing them.* And while they got through those grounds unpursued, the cavalry and artillery got over by the bridge, where the road permits but a file of six men to go abreast.† Having

* "The country is full of defiles and bogs, and the Irish, of all people in the world, are the best at walking and running."—*Revolution d'Irelande*, page 140.

† "There are several boggy fields with ditches at Duleek, and in the midst of these a deep strait rivulet, very soft in the bottom, and high banks on each side; there is only one place to get over, and there not above six can go abreast."—*Storey*, page 84. Duleek is now rapidly losing its boggy character; the river still overflows and floods the village road at times, and there are yet traces of the marshy character impressed upon its fields, but they are wearing out.

Vide Berwick, page 61, vol. i., and Clarke's Life of James, vol. ii. page 401.



WALKER, GOVERNOR OF DERRY.

passed this bridge the Jacobites drew up beyond it, and turning their cannon round, discharged them in the face of their pursuers, who returned the fire from their artillery ; the Jacobites then turned, having had time to breathe and fall into military form, and from thence made their way four miles nearer to Dublin, the enemy still pursuing, at a distance, until they came to the pass of the Nawl, when night closing in upon the belligerents, the Williamite cavalry drew off, and retired to their infantry at Duleek, and there lay upon their arms all night. The Jacobites rested for a few hours on the road, and then with the first dawn of morning pursued their way to Dublin. William found the great bulk of the Jacobite baggage at Duleek, which had only been removed thus far, and made large spoils for his army.*

William's army is reputed to have lost but about four hundred men and four officers of distinction, except Schomberg and the unfortunate George Walker,

* "By the victory, the king's army gained immense spoils left behind by the enemy, consisting of chariots, baggage, equipages, tents, arms, and ammunition."—*Revolution d'Irelande,* page 141.

This account, by a Williamite authority, of where the baggage was taken, goes far to refute the statement that James had resolved to retreat the night before, and had sent it on to Dublin. The baggage had time to have reached Dublin by a night march, had such been its destination, but its being left at Duleek clearly shows it was only sent on to that point of the road to make a clear field for the combatants. It explains a part of James's conduct, which has been hitherto a source for much blame, and rescues his memory from a charge of absurd folly. No doubt his moving the baggage at all on the eve of a battle was calculated to create unpleasant surmises amongst his soldiers, but it is now obvious that it was not ordered on to Dublin.

who was killed down near the river, and shortly after Schomberg fell ; and if Schomberg, though a stranger, had friends around him in whose arms he expired, poor Walker does not seem to have had friend or acquaintance near him to save him from the hands of the camp plunderers, who, though countrymen and followers of his own,* stripped and plundered his mortal remains. Thus it too often happens in life that ingratitude rewards public devotion to a party, and injury and wrong are inflicted upon fallen men by the very class for whom life itself had been risked.

By ten o'clock that night William had gathered in his army to Duleek. They had been sixteen hours under arms, and for the last twelve hours they had been fighting and marching in wet clothes ; he resolved, therefore, to rest them where they were for the night, and next day to get up his baggage and look to Drogheda, over which still floated James's flag.

William has been blamed for allowing James's army to escape to Dublin, but he was unable, owing to the nature of the ground at Duleek, to get on with sufficient forces or in sufficient time to intercept him: his men were wet and wearied, and, moreover, the town of Drogheda, close beside the field he had won, still held out for James. Drogheda must be taken

* "Doctor Walker going, as some say, to look after the duke, was shot a little beyond the river and stript immediately, for the Scotch-Irish that followed our camp were got through already and took most of the plunder."—*Storey*, page 82.

"George Walker, an Irish clergyman, who distinguished himself more in the camp than in the pulpit."—*John Evelyn's Diary*, note, vol. ii. page 388.

before he marched on Dublin; accordingly, the next morning he brought his baggage up from the Louth side of the river, and La Mellionere was sent with one thousand cavalry, three hundred infantry, and eight pieces of cannon, to summon Drogheda to surrender. The governor hesitated, but being informed that if the artillery once played upon the town, no quarter would be afterwards given, surrendered upon condition to have the garrison march out without their arms, and under a guard, who were to convey them to the nearest Jacobite fort, which was Athlone. Thirteen hundred soldiers marched out accordingly, and William got possession of the town, with a large store of provisions within it. So small a garrison could not have held out with such an army in its neighbourhood; besides, it was ill fortified for such a siege, and the soldiers were disheartened by the total rout of the Jacobite army, which they had witnessed from their towers upon the previous day.*

* "The governor excused himself by saying, "that the army being defeated in sight of the town so disheartened the garrison, that they showed little inclination towards a vigorous defence; that their number was not above thirteen hundred men to do duty, and not above seven hundred fire-arms amongst them all; but seven pieces of iron cannon of four-pound ball, the walls old and low, not lined with ramparts, and no one part flanking another."—*Clarke's Life of James*, vol. ii. page 415.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW JAMES LEFT IRELAND, DOUGLAS WAS BEATEN AT ATHLONE, AND WILLIAM WENT TO THE SOUTH.

As James turned his back upon the banks of the Boyne, De Lauzun continued to urge upon him the propriety of his immediately retiring to France, that for a time his cause was lost in Ireland, and that his very person was in danger if he at all tarried. James's broken spirit and ruined hopes fitted him for listening to this pusillanimous advice, and he accordingly lent to it a not unwilling ear, although he subsequently seemed to consider he was hurried out of the kingdom.

James arrived at Dublin late in the night, and went direct to the Castle, where he was received by the Duchess of Tyrconnel. He now advised with the leading statesmen and government officers as to the course he would take, and they were unanimous in advising him to leave the kingdom. The Duke of Tyrconnel sent him a message by the Rev. Mr. Taafe, who was the duke's chaplain, to the same effect, and requested him, before he departed, to send to him whatever troops were at Dublin. The duke and Lauzun having resolved not to go to Dublin at all, but to march in the direction of Limerick, remained for the present at Leixlip, where they awaited the arrival of those troops. His course of proceeding was accordingly decided by these advices, and he resolved to leave the country, considering his cause as lost in Ireland, yet

hoping to influence the French king to aid him in a descent on England. Before leaving Dublin he addressed to the authorities there a speech,* remarkable for its moderation in regard to his enemies, but yet more remarkable for the spirit of ingratitude in which he reflected upon the military character of the nation, then risking life and every earthly blessing in his cause, and attributed to them that defeat which was the result of the inferior discipline and inferiority of numbers of the gallant little army whose misfortune it was to have been commanded by so weak a king

* His Majesty's speech to the Lord Mayor, &c., upon his quitting of Dublin soon after the action at the Boyne, July 2nd, 1690: "Gentlemen, I find all things run at present against me; in England I had an army consisting of men, stout and brave enough, which would have fought, but they proved false and deserted me; here I had an army which was loyal enough, but they wanted true courage to stand by me at the critical minute. Gentlemen, I am now a second time necessitated to provide for my own safety, and seeing I am no longer able to protect you and the rest of my good subjects, the inhabitants of this city, I advise you to make the best terms you can for yourselves; and likewise for my menial servants, in regard that I shall now have no further occasion to keep such a court as I have done; I desire you all to be kind to the Protestant inhabitants, and not to injure them, or the city, for though I at present quit it, yet I do not quit my interest in it."—*Vide Royal Tracts*, page 31.

The foregoing is quoted from an interesting little book, apparently issued under James's own eye, and the materials of which must have been supplied by himself. It is printed in English at Paris, by Estiene Lucas, in 1693, being two years after the battle of the Boyne. It is divided into two parts; the first containing several of James's speeches, letters, &c., and the second, which is styled, "*Imago Regis*," "in his sufferings," contains a number of prayers and religious aspirations. It is printed in 16mo., and has a neat copperplate picture of the king, sad and meditatively reading a book, as frontispiece.

and so feeble a general.* It is most probable that Tyrconnel and those who advised him to return, felt convinced that his presence embarrassed, if it did not retard, the measures necessary for the defence of the country, and it is not a little remarkable, that of the Irishmen advising his retreat out of the kingdom, none set him the example; but on the contrary, all remained in Ireland, and prepared to make further battle with the invader of their shores. Indeed, long before the retreat of the Boyne, Tyrconnel had felt James's presence an embarrassment, and had so† represented it to the King of France through those Irishmen resident in Paris, as the duke's representatives or agents in that country, blaming him for those measures in regard to the army, which had led to the disbanding of so many troops and consequent diminishing of that army, so necessary under the circumstances, and the want of which was felt at the Boyne.

* It is traditionally handed down, as an observation of Sarsfield's, made after the battle of the Boyne to some Williamites, and conveying his strong sense of James's incapacity and William's superior qualities as a soldier, "Change kings with us, and we will fight it over again with you."

† In the autumn of 1689, the Earl of Melfort had been sent to France to look after James's interest there. He writes back to James, dating his letter from St. Germains, October, 1689, and complains of calumnies used against James, at the French court, by an Irish party, as well as by Rosen and some French officers, and assisted by the imperfect accounts of Lord Dover. . . "I found the calumnies to come from the ambassador, Rosen, and some of the French officers on the one hand, and from a knot of Irish on the other, who reside here at Paris. As for the French, all I could do was to answer them. I did it fully. . . But as for the Irish, I made it my business to find out the motive as well as the ways they took to execute it. I soon found that the foundation of this here was one Bishop Malone, who some time ago,

Most of the general officers, in their retreat from the Boyne, continued to hold their soldiery together, though the disheartening defeat they had just encountered, added to the mismanagement of the commissariat, the deficiency of clothing and pay, were but too well calculated to make a peasant soldiery desert the cause of a king who seemed but too ready to desert it himself. And it could not have been much matter of surprise if, under such circumstances, the entire army had melted away. The Duke of Berwick, who, in his march towards Dublin, had rallied about seven thousand of them, found this when he halted at Brasil ; a night's encampment scattered the great bulk of them, and in many instances their having so disbanded themselves appeared to have been done under the sanction, if not the advice,* of some of the

being pressed to go to Ireland, had refused, and being put to it, declared that he was intrusted at the Court of France by Duke Tyrconnel, and for the clergy and nobility of Ireland, and consequently could not go . . . their accomplices here are as many almost as there are Irish . . . but there are two more guilty than the rest, O'Farrell a lawyer, and another lawyer besides the bishop and (letters) wherein the great things done in that kingdom, before your Majesty's coming there, are fully set out; and how you had, by the advice of ill councillors, reversed all the good order you found in it, and hindered Duke Tyrconnel's designs." —*Macpherson Papers*, vol. ii. page 318.

* Now, De la Hoguette, with Famsham, Chemeraud, and Marode, all general officers or colonels, came to the King and told him they had been ordered by Monsieur de Lauzun to meet him and the Duke of Tyrconnel at Dunboyne ; that not finding them there, they had come to Dublin to look for them. When the King asked them what was become of their men, they answered—"They were dispersed for hunger and weariness, and that it was to no purpose to keep them together, all their match being burned out."—*Clarke's Life of James*, vol. ii. p. 402.

French officers commanding them, who felt the difficulties of holding an army together under such a state of things, and who, moreover, resolving to leave the country, relieved themselves thus from a military command at a time when they must have viewed James's cause as lost. Before leaving Dublin, James sent to Leixlip, in compliance with Tyrconnel's request, the troops then remaining in Dublin, and under the command of Simon Lutterel, reserving only for his immediate guard two troops of his own dragoons as a body-guard.

Having consulted with the authorities, James made haste to quit Dublin, and at five o'clock in the morning set out for the South, making his route on through the Wicklow mountains, and observing the precaution of leaving guards behind him at several bridges as he passed, with a view, by their temporary resistance, to secure his personal escape in case of pursuit. He reached Duncannon Fort, in the County Wexford, near the mouth of the River Suir, early next morning, after a forced march of twenty-four hours, and finding a suitable vessel lying at Passage, upon the Waterford side of the river, he had her brought down to the fort, and going on board of her, and sailing round to Kinsale, he there met some other French vessels, that made an escort, with which he sailed for France, bidding adieu for ever to the shores of that ill-fated country which did not even then abandon that cause which he deserted.

He wrote to Tyrconnel before sailing, telling him he left Ireland, being advised to do so by him and others, entrusting the country to his care, and sending him all the money he had, which was fifty thousand

pistoles,* and promising to send him further assistance from France.

While James was thus flying out of Ireland, Tyrconnel was arranging for that further resistance which he felt might still be made against William. He had issued his orders to the several generals and regiments as they approached Dublin, to turn into the country and march for Limerick, each colonel† being instructed to conduct his regiment by whatever route he considered best, and the result of this order was, that the several regiments reached their destination without any serious embarrassments, and with far less mischief to the country through which they passed than if the whole army had been conducted together through the country. The leading officers of this march were—Tyrconnel, Berwick, Lauzun, and M. de Surlaube, the latter of whom brought up the rere. They prevented plundering in the various towns through which they passed, compelling the authorities‡ and townsmen to pay a sum of money for the protection thus afforded, and so were enabled, for a time, to pay their soldiery, while a stricter discipline was observed than could have been done if the men were

* Berwick, vol. i. p. 66. † Clarke, vol. ii. p. 405.

‡ Ledwich gives extracts from the account of John Archdeken, the Mayor of Kilkenny, of corporate expenditure upon the occasion of the Jacobite army passing through that city after the fight at the Boyne, amongst which are the following items:—"Salt to the Dublin Militia, 3s.; candles to Lord Tyrconnel and the French general, 8s.; shoeing Colonel Sheldon's horse while protecting the city from plunder, 5s.; iron for shoeing Lord Tyrconnel's horses, £1 14s.; women carrying corn to the mill to be ground for them, 3s.; seven carcases of mutton for Tyrconnel's guards, £3 0s. 1d."—*Vide Antiquities*, p. 479.

permitted to prey upon the people, without regard to friend or enemy.

Meantime William, having got possession of Drogheda, secured its wine and other booty; and, having placed a garrison in it, with strict rules to prevent the soldiers from plundering, he marched about one mile south of his encampment at Duleek, and there pitched his camp for the night, where they had an alarm in consequence of three Jacobite regiments, who were coming from Munster to assist James, and appeared unexpectedly upon William's right flank, but got off with the loss of only two men, who, acting as videttes, came too near, and were taken by William's soldiers, and hanged. On the 3rd, William having been informed that Dublin had been deserted by James and the Jacobites, sent on the Duke of Ormond, with one thousand horse, to take possession of it, and moved, with his whole army, as far as Ballybrighan. Two days after, he encamped at Finglas, two miles outside Dublin; and on the following Sabbath he attended at St. Patrick's Cathedral, and found himself in undisturbed possession of the capital of Ireland; the Jacobites having retired in such haste as to have left £16,000 in brass money, and some French pieces, in the treasury.

When William arrived at Dublin, Captain Farlow, who had been a prisoner with the Jacobites, but who had been released at their departure, was acting as governor of the city, where he and the Williamites received William and his army with sincere rejoicings.

William having learned that the great body of the Jacobites had gone towards Limerick, immediately

decided upon sending a body of men to lay siege to Athlone; and for this purpose he ordered Lieutenant General Douglass to march there, at the head of an army consisting of three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and ten of infantry. The regiments of horse were those of Langston, Russell, and Wolseley; the dragoon regiments those of Sir Albert Cunningham and Gwin, and the foot regiments those of Sir Henry Bellasis, Sir John Hanmer, Colonel Babington, Lord Drogheda, Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, Colonels Michelburn, Tiffins, St. Johns, Lord George Hamilton, and Douglass's own regiments. Upon the 9th of July, William departed from Dublin on his march for Limerick, with the great body of his army, and Douglass led his division westward to lay siege to Athlone.

Lieutenant-General Douglass, who led the army for the reduction of Athlone, does not appear to have been particularly careful as to its character or moral conduct. He seems, indeed, to have issued some orders against the soldiery oppressing the people or committing plunder along their line of march; but his orders were disobeyed, and he did not act as if he cared they should be enforced. His licentious army plundered the peasantry, wherever they met or could reach them; neither the protections granted by William or Douglass being any security against their resolute determination to possess themselves of the goods of their enemies. And the soldiery who thus degraded their cause were chiefly those very men from the north of Ireland,* whose bravery had already

* The Williamite historian of the period, who, in the "Impartial History," has left us such graphic sketches of the events of

reflected such credit upon Ulster. The result of this disgraceful conduct upon the part of Douglass's division of the Williamite army was, that the peasantry fled from their line of march, and retired into their fastnesses, taking with them their cattle, goods, and provisions, while they lost all faith in the value of a Williamite protection, or the honesty of a Williamite soldiery; and those who may have gone to Athlone carried with them there such tales of Douglass's army as made the governor all the more resolute in resisting an army of men, who despised alike, and in their conduct repudiated, the morals of the Christian and the honour of the soldier. Nor was this propensity to plunder exercised against the Jacobites alone; for even the very Williamites in the neighbourhood,

his time, was evidently shocked at the treatment bestowed upon the wretched peasantry, who were literally stripped of everything by Douglass's soldiery. The following extracts detail the rapacity of Douglass's army, as well as its horrible injustice: "The soldiers went abroad, and took several things from the Irish, who had staid upon the king's declaration; and frequent complaints came already to the general; but plundering went on still, especially amongst the northern men, who are very dexterous at that sport. We had not got thus far till we began to plunder, though the general gave strict orders to the contrary. Several of the Irish came in for protections, though when they had got them they were of little force to secure their goods or themselves. At Mullingar about 500 creights came from the County of Longford, with their wives, children, cattle, and everything they could bring away. Their business was to procure the general's protection, which was granted them, and they moved homewards, as the army marched forwards, but were most of them plundered afterwards."—*Storey*, pages 99, 100.

"The countrymen, of all persuasions, began to think us troublesome."—*Ibid.* page 103.

who were living in security because they had James's protection there, upon the rude banks of the Shannon, were in their turn victimised by the ruthless barbarians of an army formed of the supporters of that cause to which they were devoted; so friends and foes were treated alike by men who had all the vices without any of the virtues of party. Moreover, these poor Williamites who had been so residing upon protections that were respected by the authorities and soldiers of the Athlone Jacobite army—but who, in their enthusiastic welcome of Douglass's army, and their assistance given to it, thenceforward risked their protections, and some of them being, in consequence, obliged to leave it when Douglass was retiring—were plundered* upon their way back. For them a Jacobite protection had been a security, but Williamite fraternity was no protection; and they contrasted, with sad reflections, the conduct of Douglass's Williamite army, in which such things were denounced, but yet permitted, and that of the gallant old Colonel Grace, of the Athlone district, who enforced the security of James's protections, when given to the Williamites, by hanging† upon the walls of Athlone those of his soldiery who dared to violate them.

* All the poor Protestants thereabouts were now in a worse position than before, for they had enjoyed the benefit of the Irish protections till our coming thither, and then showing themselves friends to us put them under a necessity of retreating with us, which a great many of them did, leaving all their harvest, ready at that time to be cut down, &c., and yet were hardly used by our own men."—*Storey*, page 104.

† "His conduct to the Protestant inhabitants of the district under his command is said to have been so singularly humane and just as to bring censure upon him for granting them protec-

Upon the 17th of July Douglass's army came before Athlone, encamping within about a quarter of a mile of its walls, from whence its cannon played upon them as they appeared within reach during their march. Douglass now sent a drummer to summon the town and offer terms; but the old governor, whose grey hairs did not indicate the cooling down of life's passions, indignantly refused all treaty; and, as illustrative of the mode whereby he was willing to hold communication with Douglass's army, he discharged a pistol at the drummer, declaring such were the only terms upon which he would meet them. The general and the governor now understood each other, and their measures were accordingly taken.

Athlone, built upon both sides of the River Shannon, and connected by a bridge, was a fortress to defend the only fordable part of it within a distance of about eight miles. The strongest part of its defence was its Castle, upon the Roscommon or Connaught and western part of the river, and the remainder of the

tions too profusely, and administering justice too impartially. Hence it was that, till the arrival of General Douglass, this neighbourhood enjoyed a degree of tranquillity unknown elsewhere. The lifeless bodies of ten of his soldiers, executed together beyond the walls of the town, proclaimed his determination to repress military outrage."—*Vide Sheffield Grace's Memoirs*, p. 33. In the Rawdon Papers there is a statement made, in a letter signed D. Campbell, and where it is said to be on the information of a despatch from Douglass to the Williamite camp at Carrick-on-Suir, that Grace had turned out all the Protestants, men and women, stark naked. The statement reads untrue and exaggerative; and had such an outrage been perpetrated, the minute historian Storey, who was present, would have given it. His silence is in itself a refutation; but it was a period of fearful party exaggeration at both sides.

town upon the Westmeath or Leinster and eastern part of its banks. Upon the approach of the Williamite army, Grace had burned down the town at the Leinster side of the Shannon, destroyed a portion of the bridge, and retired into the Castle on the Connaught side, whose walls he had made ball proof with a lining of eighteen feet of earth work.* Casting up breast-works along the banks of the river, and placing batteries of small cannon upon redoubts near the end of the bridge, he there sternly awaited his enemy, within a fortress which he had twice before defended under the like circumstances. He was well supplied with the materials of war,† and had the entire province of Connaught behind him, with provisions and allies for

* *Vide* Storey's Impartial History, page 101; Continuation, page 31; and Rawdon Papers, page 327.

† Among the mass of valuable records belonging to the Evidence Chamber, which holds the Ormonde papers in Kilkenny Castle, is one giving views of all the fortified towns in Ireland, as they were found upon inspection made by order of Government, in the year 1685, just five years before the siege. It is a book containing exquisite plans of the several towns and forts, and accompanied by a report upon their condition and fitness for defence. It sets out, upon its title, that it was made "By direction of his Majesty King Charles the Second unto ye Right Honble. George Lord Dartmouth, Mr-General of his Majestie's Ordnance in England, and performed by Thomas Philips, an. 1685." The sketch of the Castle and Bridge of Athlone, prefixed to this chapter, is accurately copied from it. There is also a manuscript of a report made upon the condition of the Ordnance of the country; it is entitled, "An Account of Ordnance, Armes, Ammunition, &c., remaining in the several Stores and Magazines in Ireland, on the 25th March, 1684, and in charge with William Lord Viscount Mountjoy, Master of ye Ordnance there.—Wm. Robinson." This latter return shows the numbers and size of the ordnance then at Athlone, just six years before the siege. There

assistance, if he needed them. So that the position and circumstances* were all calculated to give confidence to a soldier who had grown old in the strategy of war; and who, from having previously defended Athlone, knew its weakness and its strength, and the resources he had to rely upon, and who thoroughly understood the country around him and the soldiers under his command, most of whom had been levied off his own estates and from amongst his own tenantry.

Douglass spent the first two days in making entrenchments, occupying in that work 150 men out of each regiment. And when his works were completed he began to fire upon the castle; but his ordnance was not equal to the duty assigned to it; the deep, clay linings of the wall defied his iron, which made but a slight breach in the upper part of the castle, while the firing from the castle was effective in killing some of his best gunners. He now sent a detachment to Lanesborough Pass, but it was found so well protected by Grace's vigilance, that the detachment had to return without attempting to force their way. The firing continued without intermission from Dou-

were twenty pieces of brass cannon, under the names of demi-culverings, sakers, falconets, slingpiece, and harquebus a crock, ranging from three feet to ten feet eight inches in length, and weighing from two hundred up to fifty-seven hundred weight, besides two mortars of thirteen inches diameter, and one thousand muskets, grenade shells for the mortars, powder, cannon and musket ball.

* Storey estimates the forces under Grace at three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two of horse; and that Douglass had only two twelve-pounders, ten lesser cannon, and two field mortars before the town.

glass's batteries, and was replied to as steadily from the castle and town. Meantime, two circumstances occurred to damp Douglass's ardour; bread for his troops began to fail, and he got information that Sarsfield was advancing with a large force, while the fortress hung out from its castle the deadly and determined resolution of its governor, as indicated by a blood-red flag. Douglass had been now a week before it; his ball and powder ran waste against its walls, but he durst not venture to pass the fords and try the escalade, or storm, because of the resolute character of the defence,* and the brave determination of Colonel Grace. He therefore called a council of war, consisting of the colonels of his several regiments, and telling them of the condition of the army, and that he had no hope either of taking it or of inducing Grace to surrender, he resolved to raise the siege and abandon the attempt. Accordingly he sent off his baggage that night at twelve o'clock, and by break of day his army had deserted their entrenchments, and

* The Government Report on the condition of Athlone in 1685, which is in Kilkenny Castle, speaks but indifferently of the possibility of the town being well defended:—"Athlone is represented to be the most proper place for a store or chief magazine, being in the centre of the kingdom, and the fittest to lodge a traine of artillery in to the relief of all other places. It was esteemed as a great pass; but now that is out of doors, for there are several bridges built both above it and below it, so that it cannot be esteemed upon that account; neither can it be made a place of strength, by reason of several hills that command it, and is not in the centre of the kingdom only upon the east and west line. * * The castle is not fit to lodge a train, by reason of its being so high. * * It is humbly proposed that Athlone be only made convenient to receive a considerable number of horse and dragoons, which are the most proper force to defend this kingdom."

turned their back upon the fortifications which the venerable commander had so spiritedly and so well defended.* This was the first check given to the victorious army of the Boyne, and by it Grace gained time for the Jacobites, preserved Connaught from a Williamite army, and made the Shannon, for one year more, the boundary between the contending kings, and the bulwark beyond which his countrymen were again rallying. By that resolute and successful defence, Colonel Grace taught his soldiers to feel that, though often beaten, they could win, and might be victors yet. Had he been beaten there, Douglas's army would have marched through Connaught on to

* Colonel Grace, who conducted this defence, and who had been defending Athlone for years, finally fell before its walls, and so escaped seeing it in the hands of his enemies. In the ensuing campaign his body was found amongst the dead who in vain fell defending it. Colonel Richard Grace was a younger son of one of the Barons of Courtstown. His life had been passed amid the struggles of war; and in all the vicissitudes which marked the career of the unfortunate House of Stuart, from the death of the first Charles to the flight from Ireland of the second James, he had fought under their banners, followed them into exile, and given his blood and life, as well as large pecuniary sacrifices, in that cause, for which his family titles and estates were also sacrificed.

He was a man of great energy of character, had fought upon the Continent as well as at home, and was mainly instrumental in inducing James to come to Ireland, and try his strength there. It is narrated of him that, "on one occasion, having left Athlone, he unexpectedly returned at the expiration of a few days with a reinforcement of 400 men, which he accompanied on foot from a remote part of the County of Kilkenny, distant above 70 miles, in a forced march of two days." At another time, he rode to Dublin from Athlone, and returned in 24 hours.—*Vide Sheffield Grace's Memoirs*, page 33.

Limerick, and with their aid William would have taken it at that first and memorable siege, in which its defenders had gathered courage from Grace's spirited defence of Athlone. Douglass's army now made the best of their way towards the south, moving through the centre of the country, having the Shannon and the Jacobites upon their right, and the line of William's march from Dublin upon their left. During this march he encountered some of the evils of permitting his soldiers to oppress the peasantry who had taken protection from William or his generals. These poor fellows, who had been taught that there was no safety in neutrality, took to the bogs and the mountains, and arming themselves with the rapparee weapon, they hung upon his march, returning the lesson that his army gave, plundering and slaying such small parties or stragglers as lay within their reach.* Douglass hearing that a party of Jacobites awaited him on his march at Banagher bridge, turned to a more easterly line by Roscrea; and as he passed from thence, beneath the picturesque mountain of the "Devil's Bit," he saw upon it, and the surrounding heights, troops of the rapparees, who coolly looked down from their fastnesses upon the moving mass of Williamites, too numerous and well armed to be faced by peasant troops, but yet an object of interest, whose motions were watched, whose videttes and rere guards might be surprised; whose baggage, clothing, or arms, negligently guarded, might be seized. In this

* "Several of the Irish that had taken protections, when they could not have the benefit of them, began to turn rapparees, stripping and sometimes killing our men that they found straggling." —*Storey*, page 104.

march, Douglass had permitted such disorders amongst his men, that, for the sake of keeping them in line, he was forced to issue a command that no soldier should move from his place under pain of death ; but the temptation to plunder was too great for his loose discipline, and a party of five having been guilty of disobedience in his very presence, he immediately ordered that one of them should die, and set them to play at dice, instantly shooting the loser, who needed to be but a successful gambler in addition to his disobedience and robbery, to have lived and triumphed in his iniquity ; while, immediately after, the general himself handed over the unfortunate town of Thurles to be plundered by the entire army. Marching thence, he joined the king's army upon the 8th of August, within five miles of Limerick, at a place called Carrigalis. Thus a month had been spent by Douglass in his route from Dublin, through Athlone, to Limerick, William having arrived at the same place two days before him.

The Williamite army had left Dublin upon the 9th of July, encamping at Cromlin, a little outside the town, where William remained two days giving out protections, and proclaiming down James's brass money. Upon the 11th he marched as far as Kilcullen, observing on his march the strictest vigilance to prevent plundering; an instance of which having fallen under his own observation, so roused his temper that he personally chastised one man on the spot, and ordered two of the Inniskillen dragoons and some others to be executed for the like offences. The route of the army was through Timmolin and Castledermot, from which latter town he sent Colonel Eppinger with

one thousand horse and dragoons, to take Wexford, from which the Irish garrison had retired. When he arrived at Carlow, he sent forward the Duke of Ormonde with a party of horse to secure Kilkenny; and on the 19th of July he dined with the Duke in his ancient castle, the property of which the Jacobites had respected, even to its cellars. While at Kilkenny his army was encamped at the village of Bennet's Bridge,* four miles to the east of the city, whence they marched upon the 20th for Carrick-on-Suir; Count Schomberg being sent to Clonmel, from which town the Jacobites retired upon his approach. From Carrick, Major-General Kirke was ordered to Waterford on the 22nd, with his own and another regiment, besides some horse, and with other troops following him. Waterford was garrisoned by two Jacobite regiments, and when summoned to surrender, at first refused; but Kirke preparing to lay siege to the town, they surrendered, and marched out upon the 25th with arms and baggage, under a convoy as far as Mallow. The fort of Duncannon, commanded by Captain Burke, surrendered upon the same conditions, being threatened both by a land force and from shipping in the river. William went in person to take charge of Waterford, preserving it from plunder. Upon the 27th he left the camp at Carrick, and went suddenly towards Dublin, intending to return to England, but he did not go beyond Chapelizod, having

* His original order, with his autograph, upon a sheet of common paper, is preserved amongst the archives of the Kilkenny corporation, for the removal of the Jacobite corporation, and substituting the Williamite one in its place. It is dated, "From our Camp at Bennet's Bridge."

received more satisfactory news from England, which induced him to decide upon remaining in Ireland. While at Dublin, he was principally occupied in hearing complaints having reference to the misconduct of Douglass's army, and to the violation of protections; and remained three days inquiring into the charges made against the several offending parties, as also against Colonel Trelawney's regiment, then at Dublin. He ordered it and Hastings' foot, together with Count Schomberg's horse and Colonel Matthew's dragoons, to be shipped for England. He also issued proclamations ordering all Catholics to deliver up their arms, on pain of being considered as rebels, and as such left to the mercy of the soldiery; and offering pardon and free passes to their own country, to all such foreigners as, being then in arms against him, would submit; and he further commanded a general fast to be kept every Friday during the war. Having regulated these matters, he left Dublin, and hastened back to the army now approaching Limerick. Upon the 8th of August they came within cannon shot of the town, within which the enemy retired as they approached, having first burned all the suburbs between the town and its besiegers.

This is Mr Lenihan's addition and it expresses a view directly opposite to that in the former part of the work. J.E. Cane.

CHAPTER XII.

WILLIAM BESIEGES LIMERICK AND IS BEATEN.

The Jacobites, beaten out of Ulster, abandoning Leinster and the heart of Munster, holding yet a feeble grasp of some few extreme points of the latter province, had crossed the Shannon and passed into Connaught, the main body of their army clinging to its banks, from Athlone to Limerick, and its peasant soldiery, the rapparees, sheltering in the bogs, or looking out from the mountains around, evading their Williamite pursuers, who hunted them as game, destroying them as mercilessly as they would wolves or foxes; while the rapparees returned the merciless treatment bestowed upon their body with a spirit of kindred hatred, and the blood thus spilt formed a large amount of the whole of what was shed in the struggle between William and James, through the central parts of Ireland.

Lauzun and the French went to Galway, and there awaited ships from France, for which they had written, to take them home from a country they were tired of, and from a cause, whose total ruin they now looked to as a thing inevitable.

But the Irish, who had a deeper stake in the struggle, hoped on, or if hope grew weak, yet struggled on, and resolved, even though thus pushed, south and west, on to the sea coast, to contend to the last foot of ground left them to stand upon in the country they loved and for the religion they revered.

A short year gone by and loyalty to James had been a third motive, but that had died out when he fled their country and insulted the manhood of a people, whose homes, happiness, and lives had been laid at his feet.

To Limerick the great bulk of the routed army of the Boyne had gathered after that sad defeat ; they reached, by a common understanding, that there might yet be made a rally of their army, and a successful resistance to their foes. One large body of the routed army of the Boyne went in order under Tyrconnel and Lauzun, with the Irish cavalry and the French infantry—the latter ultimately marching to Galway. But the great bulk of the Irish soldiery who separated at the Boyne, nearly all made their way towards the city of the Shannon, where they arrived in scattered parties along the highways and over the hills, and across the plains, in many instances unofficered soldiers ;* regiments without colonels, companies without captains, and solitary soldiers, each bringing his pike or musket, and with it a stern resolve to try another fight, displaying a pertinacity of resistance under constant and repeated defeats and disasters, which is in itself an evidence of bravery and manhood, becoming a people who were in arms for their firesides and their altars. It is the more remarkable that they should decide upon defending Limerick, because Lauzun

* "It is admirable how every individual person, both officer and soldier, came thither without any orders, and without the conduct of their chief commanders, as if they were guided to Limerick by some secret instinct of nature."—*O'Kelly's Macariæ Excidium, O'Callaghan's Translation,* page 55.

had stated that the walls of the city could be taken with roasted apples! Such was not the case. After five thousand of the flower of its army had been destroyed, after the king had abandoned the field and the cause, and fled, after everything had occurred to debilitate the ranks and destroy the energies of soldiers and leaders, Limerick became the rallying point of shattered forces, and in Limerick a desperate resistance was made by General Patrick Sarsfield and the Duke of Tyrconnel; the walls could not be taken by all that William's General, De Ginkel, could bring to bear to destroy them; but on the 3rd of October, 1691, the Irish generals, finding they had not men or resources equal to the valor by which they were animated, a surrender was made on terms the most honorable as regards the Irish army and their commanders. The civil and military Articles were drawn up between the belligerents, which were ratified by William in the most solemn manner, who lost no time in breaking them perfidiously, and of affording another proof of how little faith there can be reposed in English dealings with Ireland. "This," Grattan said, "was called a peace and a truce. It also proved to the Catholics of Ireland a sad servitude; and to the Protestants a drunken triumph." As a contemporary historian observes: "That which was called in England the glorious revolution of 1688, was recognised in Ireland as an infamous attack on its inhabitants, and he who was characterised by a faction as their redeemer, was considered as the destroyer of the Irish nation, and

an enemy to every species of honor." A legacy of heart-burning, ill-will, internecine animosity and strife, has been bequeathed to our country, which seems to increase the further we remove from the period of the disastrous overthrow of James II. The Treaty of Limerick, on the faith of William, secured to the Irish nearly all the civil and religious freedoms they have been doing battle for ever since that Treaty was ignominiously and flagitiously violated. The spirit of the traitor, Lutterell, is said to move at times over the agitated waters of the Shannon. The spirit of William exercises its hateful sway to this hour in the divisions and disturbances which the Orange faction think it their privilege to perpetuate. Though King James was not possessed of firmness of character, or a true confidence in the nation which spared nothing for his crown, it is certain that our country enjoyed more substantial freedom and justice during his short reign, than have been experienced since his overthrow to the present hour. James was in favour of the development of Irish trade and manufactures. William and his successors have exerted their utmost to ruin and extirpate both. James gave liberty to every class and creed, and effectually crushed the persecutions to which the Quakers in particular were subjected. William* and those who came after sought the destruction of the Catholic faith, in view to which the Irish had ever adhered amid sunshine and storm. James was a devout and devoted Catholic, who, on his retirement to France, sought

* Here is extant a letter of Williams suggesting a similar national rule to that allowed Scotland but Williams supporters would not entertain his liberal views. Mr Lenihan knew nothing of this letter. J E Canel

in the solitude and holiness of the ancient Cistercian monastery of our Lady de la Trappe, in the Diocese of Sees, in Normandy, how to despise earthly grandeur. In 1782 Grattan and the Volunteers asserted Ireland's rights to Parliamentary Independence. In 1798 the indescribable horrors excited by Castlereagh and enacted by his minions and myrmidons, through the instrumentality of a ferocious soldiery, many of them mere mercenaries, cleared the road to the fatal Act of Union in 1800. The wars of William, the overthrow and death of James, and their fatal consequences are felt to this hour. How long these dreadful effects are to prevail, time alone can answer.

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